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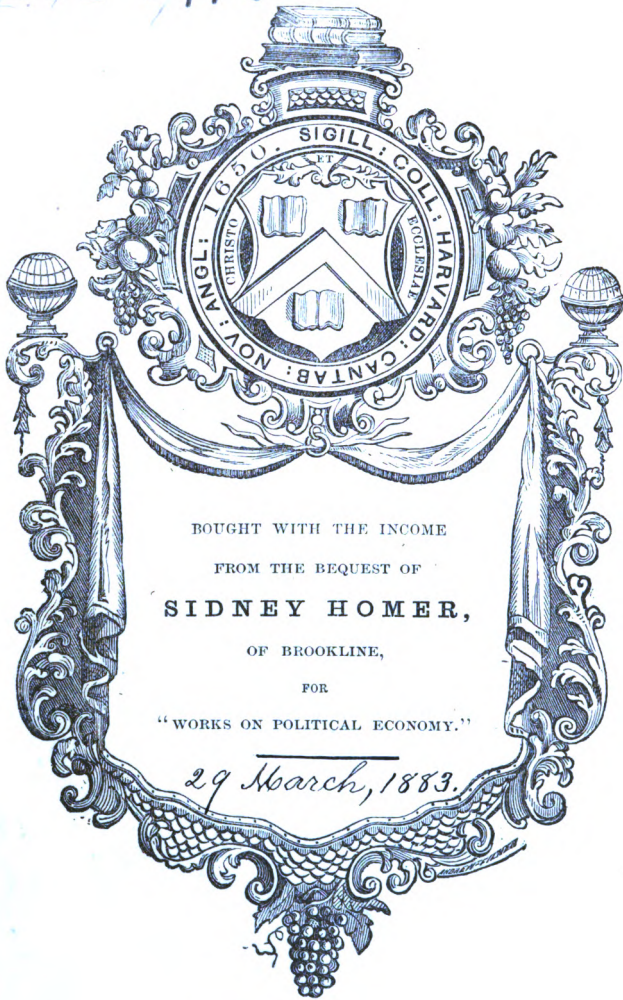
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① **THE GRANGE:**

A STUDY IN THE
SCIENCE OF SOCIETY,

**PRACTICALLY ILLUSTRATED
BY EVENTS IN CURRENT HISTORY.**

BY

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PREFACE.

Is a science of society possible? Does human society lie normally within the province of uniform law to such an extent that the acquired and classified knowledge of it as it exists within that province will amount to a science?

That society exists to a great extent within the province of personality and volition—the province within which praise or blame are appropriate and necessary—no one will deny. But that the same society, at the same time lies largely within the realm of uniform law, where praise or blame of any human act or motive is insane, is indubitably true. This is evident from the fact that certain states of society and courses of social progress have appeared in history, which man's intelligent design was powerless to change, such as the corruption of the Papal Church and the decline of the Roman Empire.

In the catalogue of current events, some of these states of society and courses of social progress may be pointed out, which have as yet defied all human

design to modify or abate them. Such are the purchaseableness of Republican Legislation, the growth of monopoly, sectarian conflict in the Protestant Church, and those deadly mildews on our body politic, the manufacture, sale and use of intoxicating drinks, and aberrations from normal matrimony.

If the time has come and the philosophical ability exists to draw the line between the realm of uniform law and the realm of personality and volition, or even to gain practical admission that such a demarcation exists, and then to point out what lies on either side of it, a vast advance will have been thereby made towards utilizing what purpose and power of reform already exists, by ceasing to bestow praise or blame within the realm of uniform law, and by ceasing attempts to manufacture what can exist only as the vegetative growth of a cultivated organic germ. And the cultivation of one germ often consists in the extirpation of other evil and interfering germs.

In the following pages American politics are dealt with within the province of uniform law. The present dual organization is found to be extremely prolific of pernicious fruit. And a non-dual, non-partisan organization, arbitrarily termed the Grange, is proposed to take its place.

This proposed Grange is not the already existing

organization of the Patrons of Husbandry, unless the Farmers conclude to make it such—as they naturally can and probably will do. The existing Farmers' Association is organized to oppose monopoly, and to protect the democratic rights and privileges of Agriculturists. The Grange which these pages propose, antagonizes party politics, and aims its opposition against every recognized or cognizable violation of the public welfare. It is permanent in its nature, and self-originating in every locality where two or three intelligent persons agree and take a pledge not to engage in any aim or effort by which the well-being of the Republic is countervailed.

A novel power will have begun to act, when scientifically demonstrated truth comes to be recognized in the arena of politics; and it must act with certainty, definiteness and accumulative force in a field originally occupied by hereditary or traditional authority, and latterly abandoned to personal option, taste and capricious opinion.

The following pages were first intended for periodical publication, but were never so issued.

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THE GRANGE.

I.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE GRANGE.

The science of society is about to be produced. It will be the most important of the sciences; perhaps more important than all the others.

A science is the acquired and classified knowledge of what exists, acts or progresses in some department of nature. It is a misnomer to apply the term science to the knowledge of what exists only by man's designing action.

How do we know that the science of society is about to be produced? First, it is needed. Second, glimpses of its general aspect are ever and anon coming to light. Third, forces are seen to be acting towards its production.

Never, until recently, has human intelligence reached so high a stage of development as to ask for such a science.

Never, until recently, has human self-control reached so high a stage of development as to promise that any profitable use would be made of the knowledge such a science would contain. Never, until recently, has popular government—government of the people, for the people, by the people—been attempted with any possibility of success, and under the responsibility imposed by possible failure.

In what sense society has hitherto been under the governance of the few, and to what end, and with what results the few have exercised the functions of their governance, history has recorded; and we stop not here to review the record.

What we affirm is—and it is fast coming to be a general opinion—that now (or recently)—and perhaps not now, except in the American Republic—upon the masses of the community has devolved the responsibility of governing themselves. And now, for the first time in human history, has science been called on to lay before the intelligent of the masses more than has before been known of the nature of society—of the limits within which its types may vary—of the extent to which it is, and of the limits beyond which it is not, amenable to man's formative will—of the inexorable laws that govern it—and of

the humanly achievable pre-requisites of its well-being.

Minor propositions, which more or less remotely approximate the solution of these greater problems, are ever and anon being demonstrated by groping experience, and the demonstrations are being detected and noted down (especially in periodical literature) by some foremost thinkers; but, as yet, without any comprehension of the system of which these specific propositions form a part; and these are what we referred to as glimpses of the science that is about to appear. And the demonstrations of experience, which are thus noted down, betray the action of forces which are at work to extinguish the social institutions of the passed, and the very type of civilization to which these pertain, while other institutions, belonging to a radically different type of civilization, are being gradually called up to supply the place of those that become extinct. And it is by discerning the characteristics of the novel type of social order that is thus springing into existence, and comparing these with the characteristics of the old-time type of civilization, which is now fading out, that the principles of the science we are looking for will be evoked.

No European of the present century will be able, so far, to exempt himself from the moulding influence

of old-time institutions — will be able, so far, to escape from the social atmosphere which these institutions throw about their wards, as to be able to discover, or even to comprehend and appreciate, after they have been discovered, the principles and forms, the mutually related and interacting parts of that novel type of organic society which is about to take the place of the expiring civilization of the long-drawn era of the passed.

As one of the already elaborated chapters of the future science of society, we present the following condensed treatment of the subject in our title :

Political parties form no part of any civil organization. Neither do they exist apart from such responsible framework of society. They are an excrescence and a parasite ; they root upon the organic civil body, and draw their life and nourishment therefrom. We speak of them as singular in number, in their relation to the organic civil state, although they are in reality dual, and one can in no case normally exist alone. The relation in which each of the two antagonistic, but co-existing, parties stand to the civil state is one and the same. And in every thing essential to its character, aim and action, each party is identical with its fellow. Of two co-existing political parties, one may be organized in support of a wiser, better or

more successful governmental measure than its opposing party, and may, at some stage of its history, be composed or led by wiser or purer men than those who compose or lead its opposing party. But all these points of difference are accidents, and liable at any hour to interchange; so that the wisest, purest party of to-day may become the most pernicious and corrupt party of to-morrow. This changeableness of its material, and of its specific political aim, stamps the political party organization as not only an excrescence, but a fungus. Its boundaries are not defined or absolute. Material drifts into it to-day and out of it to-morrow almost unaffected by the change. Whereas every permanent and responsible organic body, even in the field of mere social organization, receives no new material but by a process of initiation that marks its boundary definitely; as the integument or bark marks the boundaries of the animal or vegetable organization, excluding the uninitiated, and rendering the undue lapse of the initiated impracticable.

The political party organization is parasitical in that it has no cause or occasion to exist at all, except in so far as it enters upon some occupied or unoccupied province of the activities appropriate to the civil state, the nominating and electing of its functionaries, it may be, or deciding on the acceptance or rejection of

important pending governmental measures — thus drawing from the civil government all the interest and vitality that keep the party from extinguishment.

It may be, and probably is, a dangerous if not fatal defect of the American Republic as now organized, that no responsible, law-recognized, law-regulated instrumentality has been created to nominate candidates for office ; thus allowing the lawless, dual, fungoid excrescence of political party organization to come in and absorb, not the nominating merely, but the absolute dictating beforehand of the results of elections and of the government action on most important measures, until party dictation becomes so unendurable that, with throes like those in which the Republic first came into existence, the people rise and rid themselves of the intolerable despotism ; and that, too, only to sink into a similar condition again by the rapid decay of any new parties they may create.

When political party organizations, not only draw on the interest and forestall the functions of civil government to supply themselves with nutriment and vitality, but draw also (indirectly though it be) upon the funds of the civil treasury for their support, as is now notoriously done in nearly all the political party operations in the American Republic, political party

organization thereby becomes, not merely a fungoid, parasitical excrescence on the civil state, but an open ulcer, of a malignant type, such as no organic society can long endure and survive.

Few, if any important elections have taken place in the American Republic, during several of the decades last past, that have not, at the decisive points on the whole area on which they occurred, been conducted with lavish and notorious expenditure of funds drawn out of, or to be replaced from, the perquisites or stealings of the successful candidate.

To the ineffable disgrace of the intelligence of the American masses it is true, that while they know that millions of dollars are spent among them every second or fourth year by party agents for controlling elections into conformity with party aims, these masses have not the manhood to reflect — the party organs to which they blindly pin their faith gull them into stolidly ignoring of the fact — that every cent of these party expenditures is to be purloined from the taxes they are themselves compelled to pay.

Members of the one party, if they reflect at all, console themselves that the members of the opposite party have to bear half the loss of the purloined tax-money; and the members of the other party console themselves with the same reflection respecting what

their leaders steal. But when the dual gang comes to be looked on, as we are now looking on it, from a point without its limits, it presents the strange spectacle of an identical people in the capacity of a dual political party, stealing from itself in the capacity of a civil republic. And when the plea of party necessity shall have been made to sanctify the stealing in the eyes of the taxed individual, the individual thief will put nine parts of the purloined taxes in his own pocket, to where one part will go to the treasury or use of his political party.

If gangrene of the social body can transcend this, it is only when the leaders of each of the two co-existing political parties collude to form a ring of thieves, and divide *pro rata*, as did the Tweed Ring in New York, the Credit Mobilier of the Union Pacific Railroad, and others, big and little, maggots of the defunct political parties of post-secession times in the American Republic.

If American statesmen think they can afford to go before posterity with their existing record, the way is open for them to try the experiment. If the American people think their institutions can bear up under the strain and drain and paralyzing putrescence of their existing political party organizations, the responsibility of making the attempt must be their own.

The indications which science gives concerning the present aspect of the American Republic are, that either it will sink in rapid and fatal degeneracy, or else there will come, at about this time, a cleansing of the political atmosphere that will leave the recent manipulators of its public affairs in conspicuous pre-eminence for financial uncleanness.

Political parties have no place in society that is of a purely monarchical type. There the ruling few take the responsibility of saying what shall, and what shall not, be done, so far as human volition is to be consulted at all in governmental affairs. Political parties would have no function in such society, and would be excluded by class grades.

There are also good reasons to believe, that in the mature Republic, there will be a willingness to allow such personal freedom as excludes political party organization. And that there will also be an insisting on personal freedom, on the part of the average individual, to an extent incompatible with continuous political party fidelity.

The science of society, if we have already arrived within hearing of its authentic voice, declares that political party organizations are transient and intermediate — creations peculiar to the current transition,

in which transition society passes from its monarchical to its maturely Republican type of organization.

If there is any thing to be discounted from this conclusion, it is in reference to political party organization in the first, and not in the second or third of the three successive stages through which history and experience informs us that the American political party invariably passes.

If a political party organization ever has any legitimate existence—ever exists otherwise than as a political swindle—some important governmental measure, like that of the separation of the American colonies from their mother country, or the adoption of a Republican form of government after they had separated, finds itself in doubtful ascendancy, and the political party organizes for the furtherance or for the frustrating of such measure. While in this earliest period of its existence, the political party organization is alive with the irrepressible enthusiasm of the public mind for or against the impending important measure, and its existence is legitimate and perhaps harmless. In it individual minds combine in order to secure to themselves the harmony and force of combination, without which, their separate efforts would be comparatively feeble. Personal liberty is not thereby unduly alienated.

But in the hour in which the first object, for the accomplishing of which a political party organizes, shall have been either entirely accomplished or entirely defeated—in that same hour the organic party, if it does not become extinct, passes into the second stage of its existence—a stage in which it exists for its own sake—exists by the machinations of its leaders—exists only by virtue of the individual members of the party having imbecilely allowed their political action to become subordinated to their machinating leaders; to be made use of by them for the achieving of illegitimate, sinister and selfish aims—aims inevitably detrimental to the civil state.

No political party organization can continue its existence for a day beyond the point at which it perfectly succeeds or fails in achieving the aim it was created to advance, without becoming antagonized with the well-being of the civil state. But this is the second and most protracted stage through which every American political party is found to pass.

We speak of the essential nature and actings of the political party organization as it exists and acts within the realm of uniform law. And no worthiness of the second aims to which the organic action of the party may be directed, no amount of personal character possessed by its leaders or by its members led, no

professions or protestations or purposes of either to the contrary, will essentially modify the result.

But evil, and only evil, and necessarily evil, as are the actings of a political party organization from the hour in which its primal object is finally defeated or achieved, that evil is mild and harmless compared with what results when the party passes to the third stage of its progressive existence. This third stage (and it is only one out of every two co-existing and mutually antagonized parties that can fairly be said to reach this stage) commences with each surviving party at the point at which its antagonist ceases longer to exist in any effective force. At this point the surviving party becomes master of the field, and though aimless and defunct as a party, having no longer any effective opposition to contend against, continues to exist and act as a political organization, substituting its sovereignty for the sovereignty of the State, while yet it is but a lawless, fungoid, parasitical excrescence, living and luxuriating for its own sake, unwatched, unchecked, with its roots piercing the vitals of the state, and drawing from thence as a prey every element of vigor and vitality which it (the party) possesses.

No longer compelled to struggle for existence in the presence of a potent antagonist, the practically lone

survivor of decisive party strife has nothing to do but to enjoy life and fatten. Expenditures from the treasury of the State, the levying of taxes, and all other legislation, the executive, and eventually the judicial functions of the Republic, all become gathering in from the distribution to which the constitution assigns them, and all become concentrated in the hands of an irresponsible party cabal, to be used by the colluding members of that cabal for the achieving of any aim which lust or caprice may suggest. To this pass all political party organization in the American Republic tends inevitably, and arrives at last, if its normal development be not violently interfered with.

The verdict of science (the science of society), in these premises is, that no man but a low-grade monarchist, or a Republican, who, by party drill, had become remonarchised, ever allowed himself to be numbered or to co-operate with any political party organization after it had passed the first of the above three stages of its existence. No man, unstained with conscious or unconscious treason against the Republic, ever consented to be the manipulator of the enginery of a political party that had passed said first innocent stage of its existence.

No man but an imbecile or a villain has used the name of either of the recent political parties of the

American Republic in any other than a historical sense, since the substantial re-adjusting of the secession disturbances has been achieved.

Is there a healthful substitute that can be introduced into the place hitherto occupied by political party organizations in the American Republic? This is a question of life or death to civil society. The day for a return to despotism has passed. Republican organization in civil society survives, or else disintegration and anarchy ensues and society perishes, as it perished at the fall of the Roman Empire, and probably with more lasting and fatal consequences.

The current condition of political parties, in the American Republic, illustrates the final stages of party development unmistakably. The party that carried on the war triumphed unmitigatedly. The party that opposed the war never more than gasped afterwards. Both had been vital organic bodies in American society; and each has left its ponderous carcase to gradual disintegration. The corpse of the triumphant party being galvanized into that fraudulent prolongation of party existence which constitutes the third stage of its development, continues after all practical opposition has ceased. That portions of the one party should be easily removable to collude with fragments of the other (to form a thieving ring) — that huge foul

worms should infest and fatten in them both—that the social atmosphere should be heavy with odors of decay, are facts not less philosophical than they are historic. And these facts suggest the present as the fittest time for political party organization of the dual type to close out its career in the American Republic.

There are two sources from which substitute agencies may come to fill the vacant space. Both rest upon the fact that civil power is substantially safe from abuse when entrusted to the people themselves, acting in limited, local, democratic assemblies. It is only in governmental activities that are far removed from this, the prime seat of their authority in the republic, that abuses can be introduced by designing manipulation.

One source of supply to fill the place in the American system left vacant by the decay of the dual party may be reached by the people, acting through their legislatures, to exact of themselves a vote of nomination at a suitable date prior to the valid election. Each vote should be made matter of permanent record at the voter's home, subscribed to, as witnesses, at the prescribed date, by his two adjacent franchised neighbors, and triplicated with the same guaranties for truthfulness, first for his primary assembly, and second, for the general count. The secret ballot covers

nothing but vermin, and the frauds that vermin feed on. The sacred welfare of a republican community can never be sanely reposed in the hands of men who are afraid or ashamed to show their votes.

— The second source from which to supply the absence of the dual party, is the local Grange. Immature and imperfect though it may be as yet, it has sprung into being spontaneously by nature's own providing, at the time and place at which it is most needed for this use. The local Grange antagonizes the political party as a genus. The two cannot co-exist. The politicians have discovered this, but the grangers themselves have not. The former are toiling to subordinate the local Granges under State and national organizations, endowed with dictatorial power. If they succeed in this consolidating, the National Grange will divide and duplicate itself the first time a difference of choice arises on any important issue, the first time two persistent sets of candidates aspire to be officers of the concern. And the Granges will thereby become the old political party organizations over again, with the name differently spelt.

— If, on the other hand, the Granges inexorably retain independent sovereignty within each local assemblage, political parties, as permanent organizations, will become extinct.

The danger of giving rise to sectional conflicts, will be held up to frighten the Granges from the discharge of their unavoidable mission. But the time at which the American people could be divided sectionally against themselves, if it ever existed, ended with the late war. And, for reasons which we cannot here present, that time cannot return.

The problem that now awaits practical solution is, whether or not the point has been reached, beyond which, the American people cease to be susceptible of being divided against themselves by permanent dual party demarcations, for the purpose of fighting each other for the possession of the opportunity to betray official trust and plunder the public treasury.

CHAPTER II.

THE NECESSITY OF THE GRANGE, ITS BASIS, ACTION AND EFFECT.

Society has a natural permanence which does not admit of being suddenly changed in any of its fundamental features, except by means of a destructive revolution imposed upon it from without. Every normal change in organic society comes about only very gradually.

Therefore, what? This, namely: *the American mind* having been thoroughly accustomed to act in political matters only through the medium of a voluntary, half-organic combination of individuals unknown to the civil constitution and statutes, *will continue so to act*; and if it consents to assume a form in which the personality of the individual is more pronounced, the change will be gradual and at first partial.

It is very well to say to the individual voter, make up your own mind, nominate and vote for your own

candidate and let the political parties go; but this is all useless talk. The individual has no capacity, or at best but a very feeble capacity, for an exercise of such abrupt individuality. Utter political disintegration would ensue from any serious attempt to carry out the principle of this impracticable individuality; and the ablest and most audacious organizer who chanced to be on the ground (no matter how big a villain he might be) would rule the mass in utter despotism and according to the dictates of his own good pleasure.

Therefore, what? Therefore if the American people (within the boundaries of the republican type of organic social order) are ever to escape from the obloquy, the disgrace, the malfeasance, the corruption, the perfect school of theft, mendacity and treason—the infernal night-mare of self-stultified bewilderment, which our present system of dual political party organization imposes, some better substitute will have to be provided in its place. And this better substitute we will call the GRANGE. It is not ripe yet. We cannot tell certainly what its shape will be when fully grown.

But by treating it within the limits of the science of society, that is, within the province of uniform natural law, we can analyse the germ, and prove with some degree of certainty, how it can and how it cannot be constructed; what kind of fruit it can and what it can-

not produce ; how it can and how it cannot be successfully nourished and cultivated.

One thing, from its obvious necessity, we venture here to predict respecting the Grange, viewed as the coming substitute for our present dual system of political party organization, we predict this here, without deferring its presentation till its necessity shall have first been demonstrated, and that is, that the Grange will not finally and fatally exclude, as our present system of dual politics effectually excludes, all educated moral or decent men from any influential participation in the carrying on of its activities and the framing of its results.

The current woman's movement in behalf of temperance is simply an irrepressible outburst of the power and will for self-government which are innate and developing in the American people. The Grange itself is another irrepressible outburst from the same source and propelled by the same irresistible impulses. The Granger thinks he is organizing against monopoly, and vows that he has no other aim. Railroad monopoly is the tip of the dragon's tail against which dragon the Grange was born under the necessity of fighting to the death. The dual political party of American politics is the dragon, and it or the Grange must perish. So speaks the science of society. And one more word

it utters, saying, there cometh yet another irrepressible outburst of the power and will of the American people to govern themselves. Shall we call it the third in the current series of three irrepressible impulses in that direction? It is the impulse, the outburst, the spontaneous irrepressible movement that will bring the learning, the logic, the mental and moral discipline, the scholarship, the self-command, the cultivated poise and strength of judgment, the blameless purity of motive, which have lain dormant in the political composition of American society for half a century, into overt activity. Whereas, during this half century, through the action of the dual party organization, the control of the political destinies of the country has become gathered into the almost exclusive custody of those least intelligent, least capable of reasoning, and least averse to fraud, over whom the liquor merchants, more than any other class, preside. The Grange is destined to be the theater of the change, and the most conspicuous agency for bringing it about. The difficulty of this transfer is all the greater from the fact that the educated intelligence, logic and moral character of the community, by long disassociation with politics, has become awkward and enfeebled in the faculties which political action most calls into exercise. Hence, this most needed portion of the democratic community,

when recalled to the discharge of its legitimate political functions, will appear awkward, blundering, discordant and unreliable, in comparison with the experts of the party horde who make political chicanery their vocation. But time — and not a very long time — will suffice to remedy this defect. The Grange will rehabilitate learned, able and honest men in the sphere of political activity from which men of this kind have so long absented themselves, or have only appeared on election day to express a useless preference for one of two thieves whom the political chicanes shall have put in nomination.

The advent of men of learning and of character into the polluted and disgraced walks of politics, from which they have so long voluntarily absented themselves, will be the signal for the science of society to embody itself and become applied to use.

When the men of learning and of character long ago abandoned politics to the pot-house tribe, there was a touch of aristocracy about these upper class sensitives. They did not relish equality with the masses. If any thing of this adheres to this kind of men in the present age, it is the mission of the Grange to do it away, and to gain from them a practical and sincere acceptance of the great fundamental doctrine of republican equality in the political arena.

In order that the Grange may supply to the American people something better as a substitute for their dual political party now defunct, the first point that presents itself as absolutely indispensable is *that the Grange avoid duality.*

In order effectually to avoid duality, it is indispensable that the Grange inexorably forbear to fasten itself on any plan or principle or governmental measure that is sanely disputable by honest and intelligent Republicans.

The moment that the Grange attaches itself permanently to any principle or measure that can be honestly opposed, that moment a political party will form to maintain the side opposed to the Grange on that honestly disputable measure; and the Grange will thereby be reduced to the condition of one limb of a dual political party, to repeat the nauseous experience of past political parties of the American Republic. And the way it spells its name or initiates its members will not save it from this loathsome destiny. Therefore, what?

Therefore, *the Grange must organize, and only organize on principles which no sane intelligent patriot will dispute.*

Are there enough such principles as these for the Grange to organize upon? And are these principles sufficiently imperiled to justify and require that so

important an organization form for their protection? Yes! Indubitably and unequivocally yes, we answer to both of these inquiries.

The present decadence in the dual party in the American republic arises in part from the fact that all important pending issues in this republic since the readjusting of secession disturbances come within the description of indisputable principles. That is, they come within the boundaries of principles so indisputably just and necessary *that no political party dares to organize in opposition to them.* Albeit they are being opposed with tremendous and successful force in clandestine measures by a slimy horde which effete dualism has raised up, and who distribute themselves according to the opportunities to gorge, throughout the unburied carcasses of both effete members of the late dual organization.

One such imperiled principle is official honesty, a principle which no party dare organize to oppose, and which is thereby excluded from the arena of dual politics, and yet it is a principle that has scarcely a recognized representative in the ranks of statesmanship of the present generation in the American republic.

Another of these imperiled principles which no party dare organize to oppose, and it is broad and deep and important enough to form an adequate foundation for

all that the Grange can wisely propose to attempt, *is an inexorable aim to achieve the public welfare.*

Enforce a visible compliance with this aim on all legislative and executive measures, and you would thereby annul two-thirds of all current governmental activities. (See Appendix B.)

This latter principle, in order to fit it to be made the basis of organization for the Grange, needs to be limited and defined in two particulars.

First. The achieving of the public welfare shall be aimed at only in accordance with the requisites of the Republican type of organic social order. This would exclude the intermingling of those who, from honest or dishonest motives, may propose to promote the well-being of the republic by enforcing on it, in part or entirely, the despotic type of organic order.

Second. The principle that the highest well-being of the individual does not conflict with the contemporaneous achieving of the highest welfare of the community of which he forms a part.

This principle of an inexorable aim in all governmental acts to promote the highest welfare of the civil whole, when it is thus limited and defined, will be found to furnish as its legitimate out-growth, any and every subordinate aim which the Grange will have any lawful occasion to adopt.

The first principle subordinate to the above, and it is one that will need to be consulted in the construction which the Grange will find itself constrained to adopt, will be the inexorable exclusion of all enemies of the public welfare; and the cordial admission to its membership of all besides who ask admission.

This will involve an initiation of members which will put the metal of the Grange to the proof perpetually. But such rigid inclusive and exclusive initiation is indispensable. The value, effectiveness and perpetuity of the order depend exactly there. Without such initiation, practically and perpetually conformed to and enforced, no profession of principles, no purity of aim, no possession of character, can save the order from becoming, like the dual political party, a putrescent fungus, gnawing upon the vitals of the Republic, and itself taken possession of by every audacious miscreant who fancies he has any occasion to make use of it. With such inexorable test of initiation, inflexibly adhered to, with scarcely another organic part in its structure, or another function performed throughout the whole range of its activities; its influence will be searching, irresistible and progressive, till it shall have purified society and built up the republic to approximate perfection.

But how shall the Grange be started on its career

of purifying political society? And what shall be the type of its own organic structure?

It has done well to initiate itself among the husbandmen. No other class of American citizens is so free from vicious aims and influences; no other class is so entirely identified with the welfare of the whole; no other class or definable portion of the American people is to be compared to this in respect to breadth of numbers, security of position and fitness to be trusted with what concerns the well-being of the whole.

But all this is not saying that when the Grange shall have become established and in working order among the patrons of husbandry, it does not become wise and just and necessary that they admit to fellowship (the Grange can know no dictatorial power) individuals who stand squarely on their foundation principle, and admit also local Granges of such composed. The builder, the industrial mechanic and the educator, will each bring an accession of strength, completeness and security to the Grange of which the agriculturist is the base.

The same may be said of the true physician, and religious teacher, if so be that the true and the false among these can be discriminated.

The lawyer and his lore will have to be rejected as having no possible affinity with any thing but the dying

institutions of monarchy, its ruling few, and the dangerous and degraded class which monarchy begets.

The Grange will not have ripened long among the patrons of husbandry before it will be found necessary to expel even of this most innocent class, here and there one who persistently violates the pledge to conform in all things to the requisites of the public welfare, not merely the welfare of the Grange.*

By its inexorable initiation, permanently pledging its every member to conform invariably to the ascertained requisites of the public welfare, and expelling all who persistently violate this pledge by crime or fraud, or by the advocacy or practice of principles demonstrably at war with the well-being of the community as above defined, the Grange will establish and keep in view conspicuously and perpetually a demarcation between the friends and the enemies of the public welfare. And this done, without an act of coercion being performed in any direction (other than to enforce obedience to the vow of initiation by expelling and excluding the unworthy), the Grange will have produced the purest, happiest and most permanently pure and happy state of society of which the human constitution is susceptible, namely: The state in which so

* Since this work was finished, it appeared in current history that the Patrons of Husbandry, in sending their contributions to assist their distressed fellow Granges in the districts overflowed by the lower Mississippi (April, 1874), did not confine their liberality to Grangers, but sent aid alike to all the suffering.

much of the material element of the whole population as is loyal to the common welfare of the whole will have become defined, recognized, accordant with itself, and organized in permanent opposition to that portion which is demonstrably non-allegiant to the public welfare.

When this line of demarcation shall have been by Grange initiation rendered permanently conspicuous and approximately correct, then, and never till then, can the intellect and industry of the voluntary individual apply itself effectively (scientifically) to the work of ascertaining and evincing wherein consist the requisites of the public well-being. Much less can the voluntary individual before that time apply his energies effectively to advance the public welfare. Hence, we see that up to the time at which the Grange initiation shall have brought permanently to view the demarcation (approximately correct) between the friends and the enemies of the public well-being, a vast amount of heart, of intellect, of energy, and even of pecuniary wealth, that is, by its possessor held sacred to the achieving of the public welfare will be left to spend itself in the feebleness and inefficiency of solitary, unorganized, blind and random effort; while another vast amount of the same precious force will be diverted into selfish channels, or left to rust out and evaporate in discouraged inactivity for lack of any

distinguishable *contour* in the object to which its possessor desires that it should be devoted, and for lack of any defined and recognized *method* of reaching that desired object.

When that time shall have arrived in which through the Grange initiation, the voluntary, intelligent, individual friends of the public welfare throughout the arena of American politics shall have voluntarily, intelligently, permanently organized for the achieving of that public welfare, the amount, the intelligence, the devotion, and the vigor of the now existing sentiment in favor of the achieving of such public welfare will display itself with a force approximately omnipotent. And then, and not till then, will human society for the first time in human history approximate the strength and beauty of its prime, the rich prolificness of its fruitage.

For sheer lack of concert, for lack of that intelligent recognition of one another, for lack of that voluntary and slightly organic combination which the Grange proposes to institute among the friends of the public welfare throughout the arena of American politics, the arena of American politics is a pandemonium presided over in turn by the baldest miscreants that float in succession to the surface in the bubbling cauldron of transitional society.

CHAPTER III.

THE AGENCY OF THE GRANGE INDISPENSABLE TO THE PERFECTING OF THE REPUBLIC.

There exists in the American republic at the present day an amount of individual intelligence and will-power devoted to the public welfare greater by far than ever existed before in any place or period in the experience of human society. This result has been brought about by the ceaselessly progressive development of Racial* society (culminating in part in the applied sciences of steam, electricity and the printing appliances of the present day), the accumulations of literature, and, above all, the development of individual intelligence, will-power and patriotism which takes place spontaneously under the responsibilities of popular self-government. To husband and guide

* By the noun Race, begun with a capital, we mean the human Race. From this we derive the adjective Racial, in the same way and with the same relative meaning as the adjective national has, derived from the noun, nation.

to its legitimate achievings this unparalleled extant amount of individual intelligence, will-power and devotion to the public welfare is the imperative mission of the Grange.

We stop not here to describe the obscuring and confusing of the facts above stated, which obscuring and confusing result from our enormous and never ceasing influx of non-American population—population untouched by the developing influence of the responsibilities of self-government.

We proceed to ask *how* the Grange is to perform its above-named mission. And before this question can be adequately replied to, social science will have achieved results of greater importance than those which all sciences in all departments have hitherto achieved, namely: It will have pointed out the way (the only way) in which the permanent well-being of society can be effectually achieved by designing human action—will have pointed out the channel in which all the extant, intelligent, voluntary devotion of the individual can be so laid out as not to abort or be misguided or frustrated in achieving the public welfare.

Has this channel never yet been pointed out? Never since that early period of Racial development wherein the vocative "obey" conveyed the beginning, the middle and the ending of all social wisdom. That

period has now been passed in the American republic. And the human mind is now and here for the first time taxed to tell how the emancipated individuals of non-monarchical society can organize for permanent practical self-government.

For near a century the original American mind (subject to enormous and unceasing dilutions of its social mass) has been acting under the felt responsibilities of self-government, and experimenting in the organic methods by which its necessary aims can be achieved. The results of these experiments and experiences are before us. The failures and the successes. The former not less important than the latter. And with this gathered material before it, and with the abilities which a century's experience of the responsibilities of self-government has developed, the American mind is now called on, in behalf of the human race, with the reverseless certainty, the demonstrated accuracy of scientific action, to distinguish the successes from the failures, tracing each to its proper cause and peculiar action, and from this discriminating process to deduce, so far as they are already deducible, the essential elements of non-monarchical organization. And this, too, instead of blindly and inertly and insanely assuming that the structure of non-monarchical society is already complete, and that the typical American has

nothing farther to do but to riot like a young hog in the luxuriousness of American resources and the prolificness of American liberties.

In all past historic ages (monarchical ages they were) society organized spontaneously, and was inartificial. Human design had no influence in shaping it. It grew like the plant or the individual animal. A person appeared more gifted than his fellows for command. And all the other members of the community performed the solitary function of submitting. And thereupon society was organized. The human mind took on the habit of organizing dictatorially, that is, by the subjugation of parts to a dictatorial head. And this habit prevailed universally throughout historic centuries to the settling of the American continent. Whether in church or state, or in subordinate spheres of social relationship. Wherever there was organic order there was a dictatorial head, and the function of all the other members was to submit and obey.

This type of organic society is now spontaneously dying out. We live in an age and in a land of transition.

Not only is the type, the fashion, the frame work of organic society, civil, ecclesiastical and subordinate, changing fundamentally and totally, but amidst the chaos of transition it comes about that society becomes

vastly more than ever it has been before amenable to man's formative will—less spontaneous—less sure to organize satisfactorily—less sure to organize at all—if it be not intelligently organized by human design. Still there is a natural type (the type non-monarchical) to which man's intelligent voluntary action must conform the society it attempts to organize, or it will not thrive. The climate will not suit it. It will pine and perish. There are and can be but two radical types of organic social order, the monarchical and the non-monarchical. All intermediates will soon verge into the one or the other of these; and the monarchical type of organic social order has had its day, and is fast expiring of old age—expiring from utter lack of fitness to supply the wants of Racial society in the maturely developed condition at which it has now arrived in its time-long course of progress toward maturity from the condition of infantile feebleness in which it began to exist.

Let us now recount the hitherto unheard of conditions under which modern society must form, if it forms at all organically.

First, it must be formed by intelligent human design, although there is a definite natural type of organization to which it must be conformed; and it cannot

survive unless that natural type be discovered and conformed to.

Second, that natural type is non-monarchical, or the opposite and the antagonist of monarchy, or dictatorial organization.

Third, it is the people themselves — the many — the masses — that must do the organizing. With sinking, dying monarchy expires the time in which the few can act for the many, and bear for them all the common responsibility.

Fourth, the many, the masses, in the American Republic at the present time, if they can discriminate themselves from the throng of European born and bred monarchists with whom they have allowed themselves to become inextricably mixed up, possess, as no people of any magnitude ever possessed before, the intelligence, the will-power, and the devotion to discover the natural and necessary type of modern non-monarchical society, and to construct their social organization (civil, ecclesiastical and subordinate) in conformity thereto.

A Fifth condition under which this organizing of modern non-monarchical society has to be done, is not perhaps entirely novel, but is too important to be overlooked in this enumeration. The same is that the modern non-monarchical order which the masses are

to erect in conformity to its discovered natural and necessary type, must be so erected amidst the chaotic downfall and confused debris of the decaying institutions of monarchy; and must be, to some extent, erected out of the effete material which those crumbling ruins supply.

With thus much premised, we now proceed to inquire what is non-monarchical organization? And wherein does it differ from monarchy?

The mind that has been moulded, and has received its habits of thought and action in dictatorial society—that is, in society which is organized by the subjugation of parts under a dictatorial head—never will be able to believe in or to form a conception of society that is organic without any such subjugating of parts.

Does such a thing exist, or is it possible; such a thing as organization in society without a dictating head or subjugated parts? If so, when, where and how does such organic society exist?

The Grange must answer! must present a practical, overt, living specimen of such non-monarchical organization.

The civil state could not possibly present it—has not attempted to present it, or even to define it—albeit the civil constitution of the American Union

does require the general government to see to it that each several State has a republican form of government. What a republican form of government is, never has been adequately defined.

The American Union could not, in its earlier decades, be more than partially non-monarchical; could not be other than, at best, a kind of elective monarchy. And why? Because, surrounded as it necessarily was by stalwart monarchies, among which it was compelled to act the part of one feeble nation, in dealing with the other nations, in war or peace, as the others might dictate, the American Union was compelled to organize itself for defense and attack; and could exist in comity with the nations upon no other possible condition.

This necessity of her situation, probably, and we shall presently see, positively, precluded maturely non-monarchical organization, and compelled the civil Republic to organize, at best, in mongrel or transitional type; subordinating parts under a dictatorial head to a greater or less extent. For instance, war can never be organized on other than the dictatorial type.

The necessity for the American Union to organize more or less upon the dictatorial type has been gradu-

ally passing away, as the Union rises out of all reach and fear of any national belligerent.

Whether the American Union is a national or a Racial organization; whether it is a dissevered nation, or a nucleus of reunification about which all the hitherto dissevered nations of the earth are about to gather, and in which they are about to become identified, thereby losing each its dissevered organic existence, and returning to pristine organic Racial solidarity, is a question which we have elsewhere investigated to solution, and do not here propose to reopen.

But this question apart, the remaining question, wherein consists (within its extant boundaries) the natural and necessary principles and practices—the essential organic characteristics of non-monarchical order—is the grand pending and supremely important problem which the Grange is called on to demonstrate—which the Grange is necessitated to demonstrate.

Whatever solution this great problem may receive at the hands of science and scientists, verbal logic, however lucid and complete, never can be more than an impalpable guide to the constructor of organic society. It is a living, moving, growing, social organism alone that can either persuade or compel additional social material to take on the structural type which it proposes to extend. Mere unrealized theory, however

logical, has no power to change the bent, the current, the tendency of society, organic or disorganic. Therefore, we say that the natural and necessary mission of the Grange is to demonstrate, within the plane and limits of extant organic social order (voluntary social order though it be), wherein non-monarchical organization does, and wherein it does not exist. And as a scientist in the science of society, we here say the Grange must fulfill this mission or abort. And if the Grange abort, it is a darkly ominous vacuum which it will leave for some unknown creation of the future to arise and fill.

Why, it will here be asked, may not the organic civil state, a reproduced political party of the dual type, or some other semi-civil voluntary organization become the theater and supply the agency for the demonstration we are here exacting of the Grange?

1. The organic civil state can supply neither the field nor the agencies for the proposed demonstration of what is and what is not essential or cognate to distinctively non-monarchical organic order, because the organic civil republic is necessarily inert as to any change in type. If any change of type come to the American republic, making it more perfectly or more purely or maturely non-monarchical than it now is, that change must come from the intelligent will of its constituency.

The government itself is utterly inert except as operated by its officials. And the bent and current, the aim and progress of official action in the American republic has become hopelessly astray from even aiming, much more is it astray from effectively acting, to achieve the public welfare.

2. The constituency of the American republic has irreversibly assumed the habit of first concocting, within the range of voluntary semi-organic combinations, of about the organic grade of the dual political parties, all the changes it consents to execute on the type or mechanism of its civil system. And for reasons hereinbefore presented, the idea of any farther betterment of the civil organism of the American Republic coming from political parties is chimerical.

Therefore we say again, if any betterment in type or structure come to the American Republic, freeing it from transitional or monarchical parts or feature of organization that yet linger in its immature frame, and making it more purely and more maturely non-monarchical, that it may, by virtue of such betterment, educationally mould its constituency more into harmony with non-monarchical society, and diminish the friction and waste and peril of an immaturity republican state in the operating hands of a constituency wholly transitional and half monarchical in tastes and habits, such

betterment must originate in the Grange, and by demonstrative success in practical Grange organization, must be proved to be fit and desirable or even necessary to be adopted into the organic framework of the civil republic.

In performing this, its supremely important mission, the Grange might well be science-guided. People begin to sicken of social and even civil experimentation that does not classify its verified results. But whether science-guided or (like the founders of the American republic) only instinct-guided, necessity is laid upon the Grange, compelling it, in the final organization it adopts, to exhibit a working, living, growing specimen of social organization of the purely non-monarchical type; that is, free from any intermixture of monarchical principles or features, free, if possible, from any features or principles that are transitional and range only between the one type of organic order and the other without conforming entirely to either.

When the Grange shall have demonstrated in its own vital acting growing organism what does and what does not inhere in the purely non-monarchical type of organic social order, it will have extensively accustomed the constituency of the civil republic to observe, discriminate, act on and approve such vital peculiarities of non-monarchical order, and will have

become prepared to introduce the same into the arena of responsible civil organization; an arena into which they could not, perhaps, have been otherwise fitly introduced, seeing that the first organization of the American Republic was far back in the epoch of Transition, just off the verge of that era in which monarchy was complete, unqualified, and universally prevalent.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GRANGER — HIS QUALIFICATIONS — WHENCE AND HOW THEY COME.

No man has any rights which society is bound to respect, other than such rights as conform entirely to what is requisite to the highest well-being of the community.

We desire, without farther ado for conciseness sake, to present in the plainest and briefest possible terms the necessary organic structure of the Grange. But at least one more necessary step intervenes between the position we have already attained in the presentation of our whole subject and the possible accomplishment of what we thus desire. And that one intervening step is the presentation of the type of character of the Granger to be organized. And we cannot adequately present this type of character, except by, at the same time, presenting the moulding forces which must have conferred on the characters of that type the peculiar mould they bear. To do this fully would transcend the limits of these papers. Therefore, we shall outline

the forces and the process by which the Granger will have acquired his unique mould of character, and leave the detailed delineation of forces and process, by which this character will have been conferred, to be studied in preceding works of the present writer, which works yet remain to be printed.

And what is a Granger? The Granger is one (a product of modern society) who has an amount of sincere, innate devotion to the public welfare; a devotion in kind like that which moves any one part or portion of a vital organism to desire, and exert itself to promote, the welfare of the vital organism (animal or vegetable) of which it forms a part: a devotion to the public welfare in amount sufficient to induce a strong, sincere and voluntary pledge on entering the Grange *to forego all personal aims, possessions and claims which cannot be realized without thereby impairing the public welfare.*

Perhaps this definition of the Granger is clear and adequate; but it is not scientifically complete till we add that the public welfare here named, is the welfare of a non-monarchically organized community. A non-monarchically organized community means a community organized by "government of the people, by the people, for the people." This farther and complete defining cuts off all the questionings of

one who may be disposed to assume in old-time fashion that the highest welfare of the community consists in his ordering, while all the rest obey. Our position is that the world (at least the American world) has had enough of that type of civilization, and now proposes for better for worse, to make thorough systematic and protracted movements to achieve the public welfare on the fundamentally different principle appended to our definition of a Granger.

Whence comes this type of character which we demand in the Granger? And how does it arise? Is it an utter novelty in the history and experience of the race?

It doubtless existed in the first of men, for it would have been normal, perhaps inevitable to his solitary or nearly solitary state, and it would have continued throughout the generations in which the church and state and all subordinate society were contained within the conscious relationships of a single family. But since historic time it has never existed outside of childhood, except as an exotic produced by some cause external to all the forces which shaped general society. Monarchy, being the universal type of organic society, precluded its existing; till monarchy, as the universal type of organic society, had lived out its protracted era and was verging into final extinguishment.

Such time has now arrived. Monarchy, dictatorial organization in society, organization by subjugation of parts, as a type of social order is fast falling into spontaneous extinguishment with every thing essentially pertaining thereto. We do not mean that dictatorial order is becoming extinct in the civil arena merely, but in the ecclesiastical arena also, and in every subordinate (less important) sphere of organic society.

This spontaneous and universal decay of dictatorial organization as a prevailing type of social order, now for the first time in all human history, gives room for the individual of the masses to develop to the full his native faculties by taking some responsible part in the achieving of the public welfare. And it is only by taking continually a responsible part in achieving the common welfare of the community that the ability sanely to engage in any such activity becomes developed.*

In society of the monarchical or dictatorial type, the responsible care for the public welfare devolves exclusively on the ruling few, and develops in them exclusively the faculty of comprehending, appreciating, caring for or acting for the achievement of the general

* A people may, under the educating action of such Transitionally non-monarchical organization as can be instituted for them by a superintending superior, grow up to the taste and ability to sustain and operate a system which they could not previously have originated.

good, while the individual of the mass becomes in the meantime impressed with the simple ability to do as he is ordered. And this utter incapacity throughout life of the individual of the masses to effectually desire, design or do for the general welfare otherwise than as he is dictated by some superior human authority, extends throughout monarchical society in all its departments and through all its centuries.

Hence, until monarchy as a type of prevalent social order had fallen into final decay, it never was possible for the individual of the mass to attain to any capacity for sanely exercising himself in respect to subjects that concern the public well-being.

And as for the individual of the ruling few, although his faculties for dealing appreciatively with what concerns the public welfare were developed, yet his class grade and class position (without which organic society of the monarchical type does not and cannot exist), compelled him and capacitated him to perceive and appreciate, and act to achieve, the public welfare only so far and in such form as the public welfare admitted of being achieved by dictatorial agencies.

Hence it appears definitely and exclusively true that up to the current epoch in which dictatorial order as a prevalent type of organic society is fallen into partial and ever-increasing extinguishment, it never was pos-

sible, within the compass of those uniform laws which rule society, that either the individual of the masses or the individual of the ruling class should come into possession of any developed ability to apprehend, appreciate or sanely act for achieving the welfare of the community as we have above defined it—should come into possession of any of those elements which we have above defined as constituting the character prerequisite in the candidate who would join the Grange. If such candidate do not heartily and entirely consent to equality of rank and equality of privilege among the individuals of the self-governing community, if he have not his tastes, affections and mental powers developed for desiring, aiming at and achieving the common welfare on that platform, he is hopelessly incapacitated for membership in the Grange.

Hence we conclude that Racial development—by this term we describe that universal progress of the race by which the feebleness of its infancy is being departed from and the full vigor of Racial maturity in the sphere of organic social order is being approached—must needs have progressed up to that point at which the individual of the masses and the individual of the ruling class, by the senile dissolving of organic monarchy, had been set free to occupy themselves in the activities of popular self-government, and by such

activities, begun in almost utter incapacity, gradually, through successive generations, had developed latent ability to apprehend, appreciate and act for the achieving of the public welfare of the non-monarchical community, before the type of personal character, which we have defined as requisite to the Granger, could exist at all as a normal element in society.

The fact that the affections and instincts of individual infancy, and the sentiments and habits inevitable to society in its pristine oneness, are the same that fit the individual at the present day to take part in achieving the aims of popular self-government, points to the probability that non-monarchical organization is more truly normal to human society than monarchy; and that monarchy has been imposed upon the race for some mere temporary end, protracted as has been its prevalence. If this be so, the coming era of non-monarchical civilization promises results of aggregate individual development and general fruitfulness in all that pertains to the well-being of society, such as history has yet made no record of on any extended range of duration or expanse.

One other matter of the first importance presents itself incidentally in the above presentation of the source from which, and the manner in which individual preparedness to participate in non-monarchical

self-government takes its rise. And that matter is the fact that any given type of social organization obtains permanency only through its own educational action on the individual mind, moulding that mind into hopeless incapacity to take any sane effective part in building up, sustaining or operating a social organization of any other type than that in which such individual mind was itself moulded.*

Two conclusions follow upon the admission of this important truth.

• First. A change of type in the prevalent system of organic social order is the greatest and the most trying vicissitude through which human society is ever called to pass—a vicissitude which will not appear at last as having occurred more than twice, when the whole finished story of man's existence upon earth shall have been made up.

Second. The most important function which organic society of the non-monarchical type, now beginning to prevail, has to perform, is to so mould the individual mind of its constituent into conformity to itself as that such mind will have thereby become incapacitated to take part in originating, sustaining or operating society of a different organic type.

To that extent and with that rapidity with which

*This subject will be elaborated in a forthcoming work by the present author, "Education; its action in the construction and perpetuating of society."

non-monarchical society in the American Republic succeeds in accomplishing this its first great aim and function of thus moulding its individual constituent into conformity to its requirements; to that extent and with that rapidity will the American Republic become mature and perfected after its kind, fruitful in the benefits its kind is adapted to produce, and will have passed beyond the liability to abort. Whereas, in proportion as the American Republic, by being crowded in its subordinate spheres with ecclesiastical, political, or other organizations of dictatorial cast, or from any other cause, fails educationally to mould its individual constituent into entire and irreversible conformity to the peculiar requisites of non-monarchical organization in society; in precisely that proportion will society in the American Republic be barren of the peculiar benefits which organic society of the non-monarchical type is adapted to confer, the turmoil, perplexity and suffering feebleness of a transition state will be protracted, and liability to abort in social chaos will continue to attend the first viable republic that ever appeared in human history.

This first grand aim and function of non-monarchical organization in society, namely, the conferring of personal conformity to non-monarchical order on the individual mind and heart and habit, the Grange, when its

natural and necessary structure is completed, will be preeminently adapted to aid the civil republic in accomplishing.

It is by counteracting the civil republic in its educational action to develop the self-governing abilities of the individual ; it is by supplying individual indolence and inertia with a substitute (party dictation) for felt personal responsibility in the exercise of its governmental franchise ; that the dual political party effects its most pernicious results in American society.

It is by antagonizing the dual party in this respect, and training and compelling the individual habitually, under a full sense of personal responsibility, to tax his own judgment and intelligence for direction, and his own will for momentum in the exercise of his civil franchise that the Grange will achieve its most marked, most characteristic, and most munificent results.

It is only a mawkish subterfuge to pretend to establish a civil republic, while the average individual of the masses remains hopelessly incapacitated for any civil or political action other than to obey orders. It is simply a process of dangerous and destructive social disintegration to do away with the hereditary crown and sceptre, and to substitute in place of these an oligarchy of political chicanes and financial despots.

Here are two distinct dissimilar types or moulds of

individual character, not moral character, but dissimilar developments of taste, faculty and habit, each involuntarily acquired, each intensely self-perpetuating, the one derived from membership in society dictatorially organized, fits its possessor to sustain the position and perform the functions of membership in society so organized, and disqualifies and directly incapacitates him for sustaining the position or discharging the functions appropriate to membership in society non-dictatorially organic; the other, derived from the educational action of membership in society non-monarchically organized, fits its possessor to fill the position and perform the functions of membership in society non-monarchically organized, and directly unfits and incapacitates him for sustaining the position or performing the duties of membership in society monarchically organic.

We call these diverse and antagonistic moulds of faculty, respectively personal monarchy, and personal non-monarchy.

There is no permanent type of government or of organic social order between the monarchical and the non-monarchical, and the perpetuity and completeness of either of these in a community where it prevails depends entirely on the success with which the existing organic social institutions, being in harmony, act to

impart their particular type of organic order to the individuals of that community.

The ruling feature in personal monarchy is the exclusively developed faculty to obey or to dictate; the two are nearly allied and easily and almost spontaneously interchangeable.

The ruling feature in personal non-monarchy is the exclusive development of faculties of self-governance, a development of intelligence and will-power, and a habit of using this developed intelligence and will-power which absolutely incapacitates one for submitting to human dictation and disinclines and almost incapacitates him for dictating to others.

All the secular and religious controversies and wars of past monarchical centuries were waged not in reality over the right or wrong, the truth or falseness, of the matter in dispute, but for possession of the authority to dictate what should be believed or done.

As the era of monarchy fades out and non-monarchical order prevails increasingly in organic society, that is, as the right of self-government comes to be accorded in church or state, the subjects of former intense and often bloody controversy spontaneously sink into the quietness and unconcern of mere matters of philosophical inquiry into their truth or falsity, their expe-

diency or inexpediency, their profitableness or unprofitableness to those concerned in them.

Racial society is now in its transition state, passing from its monarchical to its non-monarchical type of organization. When and where this transition commenced and how it progresses, we have elsewhere investigated. The American republic leads the advance in the progress of this transition.

Of course the conflict of conflicts during the process of transition, will be between the principles of monarchy and the adherents of these principles on one side, and the principles of non-monarchical order, and the adherents of these principles on the other side. This conflict will rage throughout every department of social life.

This conflict has its proper seat in the realm of uniform law. But, as the material atom to be acted on is the living intelligent, voluntary man, when this material atom comes into conflict with its living, intelligent, voluntary fellow-atom, the strife which properly belongs to the realm of uniform law becomes active in the realm of volition and personality. Albeit, almost no intelligent voluntary man has ever yet comprehended the fact that a great world-wide, race-involving conflict is in progress between the principles of monarchical and the principles of non-monarchical society;

neither has any voluntary man yet attained to the intelligence that can define completely the principles of either monarchical or non-monarchical society, or affirm exactly wherein consists the conflict between the two. These are the great points which the science of society is wanted to elucidate. But for lack of their elucidation it follows that the human participants in the great conflict of transition, namely, in the great conflict between the principles of monarchical and non-monarchical society, are acting largely from blind instinct, in their opposition to each other, and half the time do not know which side of the strife is most to be bettered by any specific act. Such self-defeating blindness characterized the action of all the non-monarchists, who in former years desired, or argued or acted for the maintenance of chattel slavery in the American republic. And such is the self-defeating blindness of all personal non-monarchists who are now desiring, aiming or acting through the agency of the dual political party to accomplish any other end than the remonarchizing of the population which such party embraces.

Personal non-monarchy consists in precisely those qualities which we defined in the commencement of this chapter as fitting the individual for membership in the Grange; and the prime action of the Grange is to

inspire, defend and cultivate in its individual member the qualities which most incline and enable him to perform worthily his part as constituent in a non-monarchically organic or self-governing community.

CHAPTER V.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GRANGE—NON-MONARCHICAL ORDER NOT DEPENDENT ON FIXEDNESS OF FORM FOR ITS PERPETUITY.

Men of the requisite type of character (non-moral character) having been found and being present to constitute the Grange, how shall they be organized?

Each one is instinctively and predominantly desirous to promote the public welfare—is ready to pledge himself to forego every privilege and to renounce every aim and purpose that cannot be achieved without intrenching on the public good. They severally regard their individual welfare as so far identical with the common good of the community that they see no objection and feel no repugnance to taking such an obligation.*

* In monarchical society there was an extant and allowed discrepancy between the discerned requisites of the public welfare, and the interests and aims of the

They take the obligation. They take it sincerely. They agree to admit every other qualified person within a convenient distance who will sincerely take the same obligation, and to exclude all who will not; and also to expel from their body all who having taken its obligation violate the same deliberately.

What farther organizing the body thus constituted would require for the discharge of its appropriate functions would take place spontaneously, and would be almost entirely unimportant in form.

The only remaining points of importance being to exclude dictation, to exclude sycophancy, and to maintain equality of rank and privilege within the Grange.

The body thus constituted would be the local Grange. Its more descriptive title might be the Friends of the Public Welfare. It would retain sovereignty within itself over all matters appropriate for its organic action.

Its recognition of other bodies like itself, and its action co-operative with such other bodies, would be voluntary and spontaneous, and would weave for itself a rule of action without having any centralized

ruling class. In non-monarchical society, the classless people themselves having become the rulers, this discrepancy disappears. And no sane allowance can any longer be made for any discrepancy between the recognized prerequisites of the public good and the aims and interests which individuals or classes are permitted to adhere to.

dictation to which the local Grange would be subordinated.

Next to the initiating obligation, which should include, or should at least invite to membership, all friends, and exclude all enemies of the Public Welfare, the most important aim and action of the Grange would be to protect itself and protect its individual members from being subordinated; *to develop the self-governing abilities of itself as a body and of its members as individuals.* This implies renunciation of all attempts to govern one another within the body, or to dictate to those without; farther than devotion to the public welfare would prompt to the limiting of the liberties of its enemies to infringe on that welfare. The science of society stamps as insane all liberty accorded to its enemies to infringe upon the Public Welfare. There is no conceivable aim or purpose of civil government that is not thwarted by such liberty to the full extent to which the liberty prevails.*

* Monarchy could rely on its august authority and coercive strength to restrain malefaction, and could tolerate the continual presence of those who were purposed to infringe upon the public welfare (said monarchy designing coercively to make profitable use of them). The republic can show no such toleration. The republic confides the public welfare to the keeping of its citizens; and if they betray their trust it has no appeal, has no august authority or coercive military strength, ever ready, to fall back upon. Therefore, it is of the nature and necessity of original organization in the republic to extirpate crime, and never tolerate the presence of its purposed perpetrator. A sincere vow to conserve the public welfare will have to be ultimately regarded as the lowest price at which republican liberties can be obtained.

But does all that we have thus described as organic in the Grange amount to absolute organization? Is it not mere compliment to call this organization at all? Is it not, as the monarchist would call it, mere absence of organization?

Here we stand confronted with what is, perhaps, the profoundest mystery of organic society—the utter divergency in type between dictatorial and non-dictatorial organization.

Society in which each individual member is actuated by a predominant desire to promote the common good, cannot properly be called non-organic (unless it be made up of fresh importations from monarchy). At least it will not long remain inorganic, after its material (the members so predominantly actuated) have become isolated by sincerely taking the above obligation. That predominant desire and purpose to achieve the common good, will vitalize the isolated material, and it will organize spontaneously, as does the isolated material of every individual plant or animal, as soon as it becomes vital, and is left free from external restraint.

The perniciousness of treason inheres in every crime committed in the Republic, inasmuch as the perpetrator of that crime had been measurably intrusted with the protecting of the public welfare as a necessary prerequisite of his being endowed with Republican Liberty. He not only committed the crime as it would have been committed by a low-grade monarchist, but in addition to that he betrayed the public interests which had been confided to him as a necessary prerequisite of his liberty.

In coming at the construction which is natural and necessary to society non-monarchically organic, and pointing out its divergencies from the structure of society that is monarchically or dictatorially organic, the following fundamental conditions prerequisite to non-monarchical organization must be kept in view.

First. It is the people that are to organize themselves, instead of being organized by some distinguished individual or ruling class.

Among a people professing to be non-monarchical, whatever organization is imposed by eminent individuals, or a class, however distinguished by wisdom, by patriotism or by philanthropy, that organization is transitional; and will so prove to be till it shall have become entirely adjusted to the wants and wishes of the masses, and to their capacity to ordain and operate it.*

Second. Non-monarchical organization must be such and only such as will accord to every individual the largest liberty, compatible with every other individual having liberty as ample.

This fundamental condition excludes all that subordination of parts, in which monarchical organization

* A people may, under the educating action of such transitionally non-monarchical organization as can be instituted for them by a superintending superior, grow up to the taste and ability to sustain and operate a system which they could not previously have originated.

almost exclusively exists. It also necessitates the farther fact, that all non-monarchical organization must be merely transitional, non-permanent, and cannot receive its final mould, till the individuals organized under it shall have developed to the full those self-governing abilities which will enable them to fill their broadened sphere of personal liberty with intelligent and judicious action, as new recruits from monarchy never can do, such new recruit having had all his personal faculties dwarfed down to the mere exercise of obeying authority.

Years and generations and centuries must be consumed in this process of the redevelopment of the individual's self-governing abilities dwarfed to the verge of extinguishment by the immemorial imposition of human authorities in every walk of life.

Wherefore, during these years, generations or centuries of the redeveloping of the self-governing abilities of the individual, the most maturely perfect form of non-monarchical organization will have to be flexibly and perpetually readjusting itself to the increased ability of the individual, as practice expands his power well and wisely to occupy ever increasing breadths of that personal liberty which it is the prime action of non-monarchical organization to assign to him.

During this protracted process of the redeveloping

of the suppressed faculties of the individual to practice personal and community self-government, it is obvious that remnants of dictatorial organization must remain in force in various walks of life, even after the one great civil franchise of electing civil rulers shall have been acquired. These remnants of dictatorial order can only gradually be dispensed with as the individual faculties of self-governance gradually expand and strengthen and supply reliable security against anarchical individual action, as the old-time *authorities* in church and state gradually decline and become extinct.

Our conclusion, in view of these two fundamental prerequisites of non-monarchical organization, is, that both in its transitional incompleteness and in its final maturity of structure, non-monarchical organization will be slight and flexible beyond a parallel in any thing that has been known as organic social order throughout the now expiring era of dictatorial civilization.

When the final page of human history shall have received its record, and the great drama of human society upon earth shall have been completed, it will appear that the now expiring era will be conspicuous for the activities of men combined in dissevered organic bodies. Whereas, the yet remaining era of man's

existence upon earth will have become notable for its universal display of man, the developed individual.

And yet society, in this later era, will not have become extinct or inorganic. It will only have adjusted itself to the before unparalleled development of the individual. Human authorities, with their dictatorial action, will have become nearly or quite extinct. Natural law (and, for aught we can affirm, revealed religion,) will have become invested with a ruling influence which neither before possessed.

Society has always hitherto existed, where it existed at all in organic form, by virtue of the strength of its organization. At least such was supposed to be the fact. We have before stated that it existed continuously by virtue of its success in moulding the individual mind into conformity with the conditions requisite to its continuation, thereby incapacitating that individual to initiate or accept a change.

Non-monarchical society will not continue in existence by virtue of the strength of its organization. Its organization will be slight, flexible and perpetually advancing to adapt itself to the constantly increasing ability of the average individual wisely to occupy the broadest practicable sphere of personal liberty. At least such will be the case until the transition state is completely passed, and the average individual has no

longer any normal increase of ability to attain to ; and even then it is hardly possible that society will have become as highly organic, as fixedly organic, as controllingly organic as it was in the now expiring era of monarchy. The enhanced personality of the individual, the universally and completely expanded and occupied sphere of personal liberty, will have rendered a return to such high, fixed, controlling organization of society impossible.

The transition which society will then have passed through — which society is now passing through — will have realized this result, namely, that whereas, in the pre-transitional era, individuality and the sphere of individual liberty were at the minimum, and the fixedness and organicness of society were at the maximum of the range through which they can normally vary ; in the post transitional era the personality of the individual and the sphere of liberty universally accorded to the individual, will have become expanded to their normal maximum, and the fixedness, or at least the organicness of society will have been thereby reduced to its normal minimum. And this change of dominant conditions which the transition process will have wrought in human society, will have cost the most trying, difficult and protracted vicissitudes that human society is capable of passing through, and

therefore not likely to be reversed, will have resulted from normal growth and normal development of the whole vital organism of which every human community forms a part, and will therefore be impossible to be reversed.

Therefore, the conclusion at which we arrive is, that whereas in the past era of monarchy the individual man was subjugated to the high, fixed, all-controlling organicness of society, and history has as yet recorded almost nothing but the activities of organic social bodies — dissevered, despotically organic and warring bodies, in which the average individual shrank to almost undiscoverable insignificance and powerlessness — history in the coming and now commencing non-monarchical era is about to record almost nothing but the activities of man, the franchised individual, with his allotted sphere of individual liberty expanded to the maximum of the normal range through which it varies, and with intelligence and will-power and self-governing abilities commensurately developed, to well and wisely occupy the thus expanded sphere of his personal liberties.

The now current transition in which the sphere of individual liberty will have become expanded from the minimum to the maximum of its normal range, and the personal faculties of intelligence and self-control-

ling volition will have become commensurately developed, and in which the organicness of society will have sunk from its condition of utter dominance over the individual to its condition of utter subjugation under the developed individual, is the same transition in which the intersecting disseverments which divided the society of the past era into inevitably warring fractions will have spontaneously disappeared, thereby restoring society in the coming era to the peace and organic harmony of its pristine solidarity—to the organic peace and harmony which characterized society when, in its embryonic state, it did not extend beyond the limits of a single family.

The question recurs what will guaranty permanence in that future non-monarchical society in which the strength and fixedness of high organization will have ceased to give the stability which these qualities conferred on the social order of the monarchical era?

The answer to this inquiry doubtless is, that the absence of any forces or causes tending to induce organic change—the contentment of the emancipated, developed, ruling individual of the masses, and his satisfaction with the entire naturalness of the place and condition which the organic society of that future era assigns to him—will afford a sufficient guaranty against all change other than slight growth and the

normal and not organically changeful activity which will continue to characterize society till its ultimate prime and fruitage shall have been reached.

The limits of possible change will afford no unimportant guaranty against organic change — change of type — in the non-monarchical fabric of future society. All society is either monarchical or non-monarchical, or intermediate. And all intermediate forms are obviously, demonstrably and historically unpermanent. They soon merge into one or the other of these two fundamental types.

There is an organic unity, vitality and development in universal human society. In as far as non-monarchical organization is reached from monarchy by Racial development, the process is a natural one that does not admit of being reversed. Therefore, the non-monarchical order of the future will necessarily be non-subject to any change of type.

We will analyze this step of logic a little. The expanding of the sphere of personal liberty, from its minimum under monarchy to its maximum under the republic, is obviously in the line of normal racial development, and will so appear to all who esteem intelligent volition as an important and ruling feature and crowning excellence in the constitution of man. This attribute of intelligent volition (by which man is mainly

distinguished above a machine or a brute) is normally and vastly enhanced, advanced, by the transition in which organic society is progressed from its dictatorial to its non-dictatorial type.

Now this expansion of the sphere of individual liberty and the resulting development of the individual self-governing faculties of intelligence, of will, of conscience, and of courage, whereby this added breadth of personal liberty is to be occupied, is obviously a factor in the sum of Racial development. It is equally obvious that this increase of personal liberty and ability is not liable to be reversed while the emancipated and developed individual is there to defend his once enjoyed rights and privileges. And inasmuch as dictatorial organization does not admit of being restored without depriving the individual of his newly added breadth of personal liberty, and a re-dwarfing of the developed faculties by which that added breadth of personal liberty is occupied, it follows that there remains no liability in maturely non-monarchical organic society to change its type back to monarchy, which is the only radical change of type possible to such society. It is only within the limits of transition, while the transitional process is hardly well begun, and the self-governing faculties of the individual are as yet undeveloped into the exercise of any real power and will to maintain lib-

erty, that a reverse process, a lapse back into obedience to human dictation in church or state, is at all liable to occur.

It is, then, not stringent forms of organization, documentarily defined and traditionally fortified, that are to give duration and changelessness to the institutions of non-monarchically organic society. It is principles rather than forms that are to give its permanence to future society. And notably the principle of an expanded sphere of personal liberty, an entire freedom from human dictation (this being accompanied by an instinctive desire that equal liberty should be possessed by all) will prohibit any change of type in future society. While all the varieties of organization which fall within the boundaries of that changeless type, are also within the compass of that flexibility that is normal to, and pre-eminently characteristic of, society of the non-dictatorial type, and may be innocently experimented in by those by whom that type is held uncompromisingly dear.

The science of society will have well nigh reached completeness when it can truthfully and accurately define what does and what does not inhere severally in each of the two great radical types of organic society. Whatever springs from or tends to promote or defend the broadest normal range of personal liberty, must be

cognate with non-monarchical order, inimical to dictation, and to be sought out and adopted in the organization of the Grange.

We have thus far spoken of the non-liability of non-monarchical order to abort by lapsing back into monarchy. Has it no liability to terminate in anarchy? Not while its characteristic breadth of personal liberty permits personal self-destruction to go on to almost any extent without involving the question of permanent public order.

Should decay of public morals go on to such an extent that there would not be left sound hearted men enough to operate the organic state, anarchy might ensue. Whether it would ensue sooner in non-monarchical organization than in monarchy, is a question we will not here discuss. When a community becomes so suicidally corrupt that nothing but the organic strength of dictatorial organization holds it up out of perdition, the difference between its state before and its state after a fall is not worth contending about. Our impression is, that there is more than enough less liability in a mature republic of the public morals becoming fatally corrupt to overbalance the increased security which monarchy affords against anarchy after the public morals shall have become fatally corrupted. The power and purpose of the self-governing masses

to protect themselves against this source of public peril, being the ground of our confidence in this particular.

In the present transitional weakness of the republic, while its source of weakness is the presence of inimical elements of monarchical and non-monarchical order intermixed, the security against a fatal decline in public morals will be immeasurably augmented by a substitution of the Grange, as we are defining it, in the place of the dual political party.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NATURE, AIMS AND ACTION OF THE GRANGE MORE PRECISELY DEPICTED AND DEFINED.

The terms monarchical and non-monarchical describe two radically diverse and antagonistic types of organic order in society. They are so radically diverse and antagonistic that the one is impaired by the presence of the other, and each aborts or fails of bringing forth the fruit of that benefit to society which it is otherwise adapted and able to produce — fails just in that proportion in which the elements of the antagonistic type of order are mingled with its own in the construction of the society in which it is itself reputed to prevail.*

Any type or organization of society, in order to bring forth the fruits of benefit to the people it organizes, must be permanent, undisturbed, continuous. Society is not a machine, but a vegetative growth. And no vegetative growth can accomplish any thing,

* Perhaps this statement should be qualified in the case in which some thing of republican freedom comes in to check the self-destructive excesses to which organic dictation is inclined to run when past its prime.

or amount to any thing, except in proportion as its organic structure is undisturbed, and especially as its type or plan of structure is continuous.

Permanence, then, in type and structure, are first conditions requisite to the fruitfulness of any organization in society. Next to unmixed purity of type, permanence is the first requisite of fruitfulness.

We therefore ask, as a question of the utmost moment respecting the two great types of organic society, whence arises to each severally its permanence?

In answer to this inquiry, we say that monarchy is generally admitted to derive its permanence from the strength of its organization, meaning first the real and unquestionable exaltation of its ruling class; and, second, the force with which tradition endows its written or unwritten constitution. Perhaps we should add to these the undegenerate ability of the ruling class.

Philosophically speaking, we say that monarchy owes its permanence to the success with which it moulds the average individual mind of the masses into utter incapacity for any social state or action other than the state of subordination—machine-like, brute-like subordination—and active obedience—machine-like, brute-like obedience—to human dictation.

To sum both of these definitions into one, we say

that monarchy owes its permanence to a changeless fixedness of form ; whereas, of non-monarchical society we say that it owes its permanence to the unequivocal dominance of a principle—a principle to which all compatible forms are left free to adjust themselves as occasion serves, so as but the principle remain unimpaired.

The first action of this principle is to exclude monarchy, in all its parts and appurtenances. Its second action is, to develop in the average individual his faculties of self-government to their normal maximum. (Herein the antagonistic action of monarchy becomes apparent.)

The principle itself, on the unequivocal dominance of which depends the permanence of non-monarchical order in society, is the principle that the classless, gradeless people shall do their own governing. It is that every individual shall bear a share of the responsibility of government—shall prepare for and perform a part in the activities of civil self-government.

We do not here mean that the mother and the infant should go to the polls and vote. But we do mean, that while the husband and father represents his family (and no individual is in a normal condition outside of the family) in the exercise of the civil franchise, it should not be without reference to the interest which

every responsible member of his family has or feels in the results of that franchise.

The fundamental principle of non-monarchical organic order in society requires that the distribution of governmental responsibility be absolutely universal ; or, at least, as near to that as practicable. (The voluntary education of the minor should have for one of its chief aims, to qualify for taking on and bearing worthily this responsibility.) Nothing else can exclude dictation by excluding class. Nothing else can qualify universally for bearing the responsibilities of self-government by developing the self-governing faculties — nothing but universal participation in the responsibilities to be sustained. This, and nothing else, will evoke gradually into full development the faculties to bear the responsibilities of popular self-government.

If then the Grange, as a *voluntary organization*, subsidiary to the *necessarily organic* civil state, is to take the place before occupied by the corrupt and corrupting dual political party, its primary aim and action must be to develop the self-governing abilities of the individual ; of the average individual ; of every individual ; unfailingly to develop the self-governing abilities of the individual Granger.

What is the organization that will most effectually achieve this result ?

Here it becomes important to notice the fact that our present investigation is philosophic and not political. We are here dealing with society as it exists within the realm of uniform law. We are describing the anatomy and physiology, and the conditions and laws of health that rule society as an organic, vital, vegetative growth. Conditions and laws of social health that can no more be violated or neglected with impunity than the physical individual can with impunity thrust his hand into a burning blaze and keep it there.

If we were here talking politics—if we were discussing measures by which the party of the outs could secure the opportunity to steal from the public treasury; or describing methods by which the ins could conceal their thefts; we should feel anxious to be heard; for the knowledge we should then have to communicate would be futile, unless immediately used. As it is—if our claims are true (and if they are not true we are perfectly willing to abandon them)—our utterances represent the majesty of eternal law. And the majesty of that law will stand vindicated in future history; whether men bear or whether they forbear.

It is not religion that we speak. There is not a syllable of religion or irreligion in all these papers. But

philosophy. The science of society. Yet in embryo ; but genuine in kind.

If any raise the question of complying with what this science represents to be needful to the public health, to such we say, look ye to that ! The era of human dictation has gone by, and we desire not its return. But the responsibility of violating the edicts of natural law will rest on those by whom such violations are perpetrated, even in the Stygian haunts of American politics.

We exceedingly desire, and toil to achieve, the welfare of the American Republic. But we keep ourselves within the realm of uniform law. And what lies outside that realm we leave to others.

The science of society declared (had the scientists been there to read the declaration) that the institution of chattel slavery was inimical to the well-being of a republican community. But the voice of science was unheeded — perhaps unuttered — albeit some utterances in the name of religion were put forth on this subject — and the history of the American Union from 1860 to 1865 describes the penalty of that neglect.

The science of society, in incipient whispers, is telling us that the pecuniary speculation, gigantic fraud, malfeasance and snobbery that increasingly dominate the affairs of the post secession Republic are the pro-

ducts of social decay—the decay of the dual political party, whose defunct carcase cumpers the arena of civil action inextricably. And the ring worms moving in the putrid mass are what we call our statesmen of the current generation.* And on this gorged vermin in its slime the American Republic—the hope of all the ends of the earth—now waits for its regeneration. Now, for the first time in human history, the voice of science in society is heard calling a halt. And a new organic social creation begins to appear. Its name is new, and its nature imperfectly understood. It shuns the haunts of politics, and the hands that are foul with recent political transactions. It courts the scrutiny of science, and the cool cutting clearness of trained intellects. The friends of the public welfare gather into it from every quarter, and consult together like distressed children as to how they shall do.

Is non-dual organization possible in the voluntary sphere?

* BOUGHT AND SOLD. — About the year 1858 there was a great centennial celebration at Pittsburgh of the evacuation of Fort Duquesne by the French, at which a letter was read from President Buchanan deprecating the growing use of money in elections. Thereupon the opposition press, including especially the anti-Lecompton Democratic publications, charged in one furious chorus this very crime upon the partisans of Mr. Buchanan himself, and the famous Covode committee was organized to look after this among other alleged abuses.

Although Mr. Covode's search was vigorous and minute, he was unable to report any thing flagrant or serious. But times and men have changed. Rich men now guide the administration, and a candidate's bank account is the measure of his availability. — *Morning Paper*.

The civil government is, of necessity, unequivocally organic, and includes every individual of the community in its organism.

Below the civil government and properly auxiliary to it lies the sphere of voluntary organization, till recently occupied by the dual political parties, and now cumbered by the defunct and putrid carcasses of these.

Voluntary organizations do not necessarily include all the members of a community; else they could not be voluntary.

Had the civil republic remained undisturbed—had it remained intact of the evils inflicted on it by the dual party—perhaps no organization would have been necessary in the voluntary sphere to prepare the citizen to perform his responsible part in operating the civil government. But now, disordered as are the affairs of the civil sphere, and cumbered as is the voluntary sphere by the corrupting carcasses of the organisms that have wrought the mischief, *individual action* is quite inadequate to clean out the arena and rectify the disturbed civil organism. *Organization in the voluntary arena becomes indispensable.* Can it be had? Yes. The trades' unions, the Masonic and other fraternities, organize in this voluntary arena; as do also the churches, where church and state are separate.

But these are non-political, expressly, avowedly, and really so. Can a non-dual political organization form and flourish, subordinately to the civil government, auxiliary to the civil government, in the arena of voluntary organization? This question history must answer. And not long hence.

A scientific organization it might be called, and operated as such; but the friends of the public welfare must be admitted into it, whether they be scientists or not.

If its aims were non-scientific and simply political it could not avoid falling into the vortex of dual parties; or avoid becoming as corrupt and corrupting as the rest. Its aims and objects would in that case be optional, and it might in its organic capacity elect disputed governmental measures to be sustained or resisted by its members. It would then of necessity be either a political party of the dual type, or an organic conspiracy to control the government in the interest and at the dictation of a faction, as the surviving and unantagonized limb of the dual party now is and has been since the Secession war.

But the Grange is no longer a Grange when it begins to act organically for or against the success of any disputable measure, or begins to act organically for or against any candidate on disputable grounds. The

aims and objects of the Grange are necessary and not optional. The Grange, to be a Grange, must confine itself in its organic action exclusively to what is demonstrably essential to the public welfare non-monarchically achieved.

The public welfare, non-monarchically achieved, resides where? Resides in the developing of the self-governing abilities of every individual to their normal maximum.

Whereon depends this developing of the self-governing abilities of the every individual to their normal maximum? *On the perpetual exacting of the exercise of these self-governing abilities of every individual on all disputable points of governmental action.* And this is what the Grange will find to be its prescribed and necessary function. That is, to exact from its individual member that he submit to no dictation (nor attempt the exercise of any) in respect to disputable governmental measures.

With such defined object in view, what must necessarily be the organic structure of the Grange? It must be voluntary to the last degree compatible with its being effectively organic. Probably the two opposite qualities of being voluntary, and yet organic, will be more largely combined in the structure of the Grange than they have ever been before. That is, the

voluntariness of the individual — the sphere of personal liberty — will be broader and more cultivated, and the line at which this breadth of personal liberty stands limited by the necessities of organic action will be more familiarly known and distinctly regarded than in any previous specimen of organic society.

An organization for the development and protecting of the personal liberties and self-governing abilities of its individual members is the Grange. It acts on the condition and destinies of the civil state less by aimed intervention in the activities of the state than by a quiet but inexorable discountenancing of its diseased condition, and its diseased action, and by educationally producing materials for its healthful construction.

Not by aimed organic intervention in elections, or in disputable governmental measures, but by obdurate refusal to be thus employed, by admitting nothing that is (within the limits of non-monarchical order *) disputable as the basis of its organic action, and by educationally developing to the full the abilities of every individual to perform the peculiar duties of a franchised member of a self-governing community, the Grange fulfills its mission.

* We have before defined our position as being that nothing is disputable that pertains to non-monarchical organization in society. And it is the function of social science to define what does, and what does not, come within this definition.

An organic combination of individuals to sustain and perfect each other in discharging the peculiar individual functions of self-governing is the Grange. (What is the organization that befits its aim?) It assumes that non-monarchical organization in the state will perfect itself, will work healthfully, blamelessly and fruitfully of good to the community on one condition, namely: That every individual inexorably forbear to sell, to subordinate, or to delegate the influence of his franchise to another.

All the perils of the republic, all the hideous malfeasance, corruption, thefts, and the subversion of almost every function of the civil system that characterizes the extant condition and workings of the American Republic arise from a single morbid cause. That is, that through the spiritless inertia, the non-intelligent willlessness, the cowed imbecility of the average individual, irresponsible miscreants are permitted and invited to subordinate and control the franchise of others—the franchise of others by the thousand—the franchise of a majority—and by arranging themselves in the two several limbs of the dual party, and then colluding with each other, a score or two of these irresponsible miscreants are able to control, and at present do control, subordinate, and use for the achieving of their

own nefarious aims, the voting power of the whole American people.*

To the monarchist, to the mind untrained to observe minute distinctions, it appears like a subterfuge to discriminate between what the Grange aims at and accomplishes by its organic action, and what it qualifies and incites its members to do individually. But the distinction is vital. By confining all of its organic action to indisputable ground, the Grange becomes permanent and irresistible. By remitting all disputable matters to the trained conscience, intelligence and probity of the individual, the Grange exempts itself from all marring dictatorial action, which it otherwise could not avoid, compels the self-governing abilities of the individual to develop, marplots the knavish leader of the dual party, and compels a regeneration of the Republic. Whereas it would on any other conditions become of necessity an accursed rehearsal of the dual party programme.

If the farmers, as a guild, have organized for their exclusive benefit a trades union and called it a Grange ;

"MORE RESIGNATIONS IN THE INDIAN COMMISSION.—WASHINGTON, *June 14.*—Mr. Thomas H. Cree, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners during the past three years, has resigned. The Hon. Thomas C. Jones, of Ohio, a member of the same board, has also tendered his resignation. As the President and Secretary of the board and the members of all the committees have resigned, it is probable that the clause in the Indian Appropriation bill continuing the board and making an appropriation for its expenses will be stricken out by the conference committee. Senator Ingalls of the Senate committee on Indian Affairs has introduced a bill to abolish the board."

this action of the farmers neither necessitates the abandonment of the word to that exclusive use; nor yet does it preclude the farmers from enlarging their organization to receive all friends of the public welfare. Indeed the vastness of the numbers of the agricultural population, makes them as a body approximate more nearly than the members of any other vocation could, to the whole body of the republic. And again their position, necessities and wants are so inartificial and so nearly representative of the whole community that in this respect, as well as in respect to their numbers, the patrons of husbandry come nearer than any other body of citizens not organized for that express purpose could come to representing the Grange which we here describe; and would experience less change than any other body in becoming identical therewith.

Non-monarchical order in society naturally and necessarily antagonizes monarchy in all its parts and principles. So the Grange antagonizes the dual political party. But the Grange confines its aims and action within the realm of uniform law; whereas the dual political party has all its aims and intentional activities in a lower plane, namely, in the realm of evanescent volition and personality. The dual political party outside the plane of its intentional activities, acts on the civil republic as a vegetative parasitical fungus — a

gangrenous disease. The Grange antagonizes and destroys the dual political party, not by descending with it into the low foul plane of its intentional activities; but by so acting on the material individual of the civil republic within its (the Grange's) own realm of uniform law, as to render that material individual no longer susceptible of being made use of by, or absorbed into, the dual party.

During the present immature condition of the Grange, and while it is yet in overt antagonism with the dual party, it may not improbably put forth some activities in the low foul plane of dual politics. But this is not within its legitimate sphere. This is only answering to a transient emergency. And it creates the suspicions, and possibly in some degree the danger, that the Grange itself is to begin and end its existence in that low foul atmosphere.

The term, Grange, originally described the farm—the whole *ensemble* of its persons and appliances. It had fallen obsolete, at least in American usage. We assume to use it in a somewhat technical sense, in our science of American society, to describe the natural and necessary antagonist of the dual political party.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GRANGE SELF-CONSTRUCTING—ITS GRADED ORGANIZATIONS AND THE RA- CIAL QUALITY OF ITS INDIVIDUAL MEM- BER.

From the earliest appearance of man in plural number upon the earth to the present hour, society as a vital organic unit has been growing, advancing, developing toward a maturity and fruitage not yet reached.

By virtue of this progressive development of Racial society, the dictatorial type of social organization has become outgrown. Especially is this sensibly the case among the more advanced peoples of the Race.

The most conspicuous of all the particulars in which this advanced Racial development appears, is the enlargement of the sphere of personal liberty till it becomes bounded by nothing but the necessity that every individual should enjoy equal liberty.

What are the peculiarities of that type of organic order which can construct, as dictatorial order cannot

construct, the society in which individual liberty is thus expanded?

First. This type of organic order involves entire gradelessness as to the individuals of whom society is composed. No grade can be introduced or acknowledged without impairing the extent of the liberties of all the individuals of the degraded class, and abnormally enhancing the liberties of the individuals of the class more elevated; and thus overturning the first essential condition of non-monarchical order, and putting an essential element of despotism in its place. This gradelessness is a merely negative trait pre-essential to the community to be non-monarchically organized. Therefore we name as the first positive trait of the organization of this peculiar type that it must proceed from the people themselves. It cannot be imposed by any superior grade or class among them, for they have none. It cannot be dictated by any outside power, without abridging the liberties of those dictated.

For a superior power without their boundaries, or for a superior class within those boundaries, to confer republican liberties on a people amounts to little else but a demonstration that then and there organic order of the dictatorial type is sinking into decay. The people that lack the power or the will to take their liberties despite any efforts put forth to withhold them,

will have little skill to use, or power to retain those liberties when they shall have been conferred. A republic, in order to be genuine, must develop out of the people of whom it is to be composed. Otherwise it cannot be a vital organic growth. A republic which can be manufactured by an outside party, and conferred on a people, will have been made out of dry lumber. It will not grow, blossom, or bear fruit. It will only decay.

Probably the grandest vice that ever invaded American society is the imported concession that office—even elective office—confers superior rank upon its holder. And, as a first fruit of this vice, the office is desired and striven for with the frantic desperation with which the low-grade monarchist ever instinctively strives, if possible, to identify himself with the ruling class. A second bitter fruit of this vice of American society is, that the office when acquired is regarded and used as a class-privilege. And a third and more bitter result scarcely distinguishable from the vice itself, is, that the people from whom the correction should proceed both swift and sure, regard such abuse of office as normal to the republic, and to be acquiesced in.

To remedy the organic vices at any time current in the republic, is the great function of the Grange. And to remedy these, not by dictating to any a changing

of their course, and then proceeding to raise a fight by the enforcement of the edict; but by exemplifying in its own construction and action a more perfected form of non-monarchical organization and activity, and by educationally influencing the average individual in favor of its adoption. Perhaps also by exacting from its individual member an exemplification of non-monarchical order incompatible with connivance at the current vice.

Therefore it is indispensable, if the Grange is thus to perform its highest function in correcting the organic vices of the non-monarchical state, that it should itself exemplify the purest and most perfected form of non-monarchical organization and organic activity. And that it begin to exemplify these by self-constructing.

The limits within which this self-constructing must be performed are simply the limits that exclude dictation, and include all that shall be agreed upon as essential in the Grange.

And what we are here saying of the Grange, we presume will be found essentially true of the local Grange. We are not yet sure that the Grange will exist in permanent organic form, save in its primary, or local body.

Will not that approach fearfully near to an utterly inorganic condition, if a general institution like the

successor of the dual political party essays to exist, but without permanent organization above the range of countless local Granges. Perhaps this will be too near an approach to the inorganic. We shall understand this point better farther on. How, under this condition, could a necessary amount of uniformity and harmony be secured? By voluntary correspondence and interchange of delegates; and by the temporary constructing of a State or National Grange as often as occasion calls.

When the transitional circumstances which require the American Republic, in its intercourse with the nations, to act the part of a dissevered nation among dissevered nations shall have ceased, as they are now fast ceasing to exist, it is not certain that what we call our national government will have any farther function to perform but to arbitrate between the states in cases of dispute.

Non-monarchical organization can exist over a considerable extent of territory only by virtue of a graded series of organizations like those of the school district, township, county, state and national organizations in the present system of the American Republic. A system in which the same identical people (gradeless — classless — as to the individuals who unite to form each successive organization of the series) act in

each grade of civil organization, but in larger and still larger numbers, as each grade ascends above the local and purely democratic primary.* The Grange must organize itself in this series, in order either to exist in itself, or to exemplify the non-monarchical order of the state. The question above suggested is, whether its higher grade organizations need to be permanent, or only occasional.

The second great positive and essential feature of non-monarchical order is, that all function and responsibility must be forced down in the series to reside in the lowest grade of organization that is adequate to its discharge.

Dictation and despotism are inevitable in a connection as extensive as the American Union, if all the minutiae and detail of local police and civil and criminal judiciary are to be performed as functions of the general government.

It is only by leaving to the local democracy, acting in its primary assemblies, exclusive jurisdiction over all governmental matters which concern the local assemblies only, it is only by leaving to these all the governmental functions they are able to perform, and by forcing down into each grade of governing organ-

* The higher organizations of the series are, of necessity, representative. No pure democracy can possibly exceed the limits of the few thousands of individuals who can gather together and act in a single assembly.

ization as near to the primary as practicable all the governmental responsibilities which each is adequate to sustain; that non-monarchical government or organization can be maintained at all over any considerable extent of territory.

This second prime feature of non-monarchical organization the Grange must needs illustrate and exemplify, if it would educate the average individual to the perfect discharge of his responsibilities as franchised member of a self-governing community.

But, as we said before, aside from the necessity the Grange, as a curer of disease in our civil system, is under of exemplifying the civil organization of the republic to the individual mind in order to mould that mind into conformity to its civil duties, the Grange itself cannot organize outside the limits of dictatorial order without adopting the grade scale of ascending organisms for one and the same identical people to be organized, namely: That grade scale above described, as in the American Republic, in which the numbers of people organized in each grade increases, and the governmental functions of each grade of organization diminish, as the scale ascends from the local democratic primary towards national or Race-wide representative* organization.

* The term representative, here, and in some other places where applied to organic social bodies, means composed of delegates.

The question whether the higher grade organizations in this grade scale need, in the case of the Grange, to be kept constantly manned by an elected representation from the lower or local Granges, is a question which experience alone can settle. And the experience which settles this question at one time may naturally enough not settle it of all times. It is not to the crystalized fixedness of its organic forms, but to the peculiar self-perpetuating* mould of individual character, that non-monarchical institutions and non-monarchical government and non-monarchical civilization are to be indebted for their permanence.

If called on for a word in which to describe more than any other single expression can convey of this peculiar type or mould of individual character by virtue of which non-monarchical civilization acquires permanence, we would say the peculiarity of that mind was its Raciality. And we understand this word to describe the novel quality, by virtue of which the mind acknowledges itself to be a member of the human Race, and not merely a member of a dis severed organic class or fraction of the Race.

We call this Raciality of personal character a novel

* The non-monarchical mould of individual character perpetuates itself by perpetuating the non-monarchical construction of society (especially in the civil state), and this reacts to perfect and reproduce the non-monarchical mould of individual character in each successive generation of individuals.

quality because its normal existence, in post-patriarchal society, is of recent date. It would have no place in social order of the monarchical type. It calls for, it calls forth, it exists in, a Race-wide fraternity of feeling and sympathy that would have obliterated the international and interclass disseverments in which all the wars of history, and all the class differences of historic time have had their origin.

In this Raciality of individual character there resides a wondrous substitute for formal organization in society. Throughout the community in which this individual Raciality prevails, even in the absence of organic forms, there is no danger of the excesses which result from like absence of formal organization among minds that possess not this quality or mould, but are on the contrary moulded into conformity to dissevered fractional nationality, and to the class grades that appertain thereto.

The mould or quality of Raciality (now spontaneously coming in to possess the individual mind, as the old-time dictatorial civilization dies out) co-ordinates the individual members of the human family into mutual sympathy, mutual consideration for each other—into that fraternal accord, and delight in each other's well-being—which marks the organic relations of the various members of man's physical organism.

The hand cannot make war upon the foot of the physical individual. It is organically dispossessed of any propensity to such action. The same is true of the relations of every two individual minds in proportion as they become possessed of the modern mould or quality of Raciality.*

It is the inevitable action of all society non-monarchically organic, but pre-eminently is it the action of the Grange, to develop this quality of the individual—to confer this mould on the individual mind. And all the individual minds thus acted on instinctively desire each other's welfare. Now, what we were affirming is, that in a community of individuals thus Racialized, the absence of organic forms is supplied to a great extent by this prevailing desire to promote each other's welfare; which desire, in its course of developing will have clothed itself with a substantial self-governing ability to promote each other's welfare, will also readily create all needful organic forms, and will preclude all liability to that chaotic riot which is historically seen to be inevitable to minds which have not undergone this process of Racialization; that is, minds which still retain the mould and qualities conferred on them by international and inter-class disseverment, and dictatorial organization.

* See Appendix A.

This Raciality of the individual, prevailing as it does somewhat generally, as monarchy decays, augmented as it naturally is in the genuine Republic, and, above all, augmented by membership in the Grange, acting as it does to co-ordinate its possessors into the fraternal harmony of the organically reunifying body of Racial society, protects the individual Granger and the local Grange from liability to damage for lack of permanent organization in the higher grades of the organisms of the series of which the local Granges form the base.

Racialness is perhaps a more expressive form of the word than Raciality. It means the quality or mould of mind by virtue of which the individual possessing it spontaneously takes his place and performs his part as a constituent member of reuniting organic Racial society; instead of occupying a place and performing a part as merely a member of some dissevered organic fraction of that society — a nation or a class.

It is by virtue of this normal growing Racialness of individual minds that society is spontaneously putting off monarchical organization and putting on non-monarchical organization preliminary and prerequisite to organic Racial reunification; non-monarchical organization being compatible with and congenial to Racial organic social oneness, and incompatible with international disseverment; and monarchical organization

being uncongenial to and incompatible with the organic oneness of society, and intensely congenial to international disseverment, and creative of all class distinctions.

To propagate this Racialness of individual minds where it does not already exist, and to cultivate and enhance it where it does exist, is the highest aim and interest of the non-monarchical civil state, and of the Grange. For this warless, classless mould or quality of the individual mind is inseparable from the development of that self-governing ability of the individual, without which the enlargement of his sphere of personal liberty is a curse to him, and leads him into self-destroying riot, unless he speedily sells himself to some new master, as the franchised American does in the dual political party, and as the American Protestant does when he slinks back into the clutch of the Papacy.

Irrepressible Racial development (using the term in its general sense, and not in reference to the single mind) should doubtless be regarded as the prime force in action to induce all the several specific movements involved in the current transition of society from its monarchical to its non-monarchical type of organization. This prime force insensibly Racializes the individual mind; causes it to swell (as for forty centuries it has not swelled) with aspirations after a repossession

of those liberties which were alienated when society first took on its dictatorial type of organic order; causes it simultaneously to accord an equal breadth of liberty to every human fellow, and thus extricates the individual from the compressed, selfish, ever warring mould or quality which international and interclass disseverments and dictatorial society have imposed. The highest aim and interest of the non-monarchical civil state, and also of the Grange (prime auxiliary of the civil state), is to co-operate with Racial development in conferring this Racialness of individual mould and quality on the individual, rescuing him thereby from the meaner and more mechanical, narrow, selfish, cowering, quarreling mould which the now expiring type of civilization has stamped upon its individual man.

CHAPTER VIII.

OBSTACLES TO THE PERFECTING OF NON-MONARCHICAL ORDER IN THE STATE, AND THE MEANS OF THEIR REMOVAL.*

In performing its part as auxiliary to aid the civil state in conferring the Racial mould and quality upon its individual constituents, we have named two positive features that must characterize the Grange in its organization: First, the members of the Grange (even of the local Grange) must themselves organize themselves; second, acknowledging as necessary the grade series of organic bodies into which it is necessary that every extended republic should organize itself, in the Grange, as in the civil state, *it is needful that all function and responsibility be forced down in the series of graded bodies as near as may be to the local primary.* The reasons for this necessity should here be presented.

* This chapter may seem to lack lucidness on account of its extensive and necessary reference to other parts of the philosophical system in which the present treatise is but a single section. But more of the excluded matter can not be crowded into the present volume without confusedly obscuring the main topic in hand.

First. What is done by the local primary is done by the people at first hand—at no remove from the source of all authority in the republic. And it is a universal principle of economy, in mechanics and physical and social organization, to simplify by dispensing, as far as possible, with all intermediates, to place the action and the force by which that action is to be performed, as nearly as possible in conjunction. Especially let there be as few intervening parts as possible. The fewer intermediate parts there are, the less friction, the less expenditure of unavailing strength, and, above all, the less liability to disarrangement and disease. The veiled monarchs of the East did not obey this rule. And as individuals, and as a class, they perished before the first blast that blew upon them. The politicians of the American republic delight in a multiplicity of functionaries. And if they do not destroy the republic, it will be because the people, acting in the organization of the Grange, or in some other method, extirpate them as vermin.* The army, the navy, and the police force are all the peculiar implements of dictation, and have no legitimate existence in the mature republic.

*The politician of the American republic is a low grade monarchist. He never accepted sincerely the doctrine of republican equality—probably lacks capacity to comprehend it—and is on fire with zeal to aggrandize himself and his friends by getting himself and them into office, thus becoming identified (though it be but briefly) with that ruling class which he and his ancestors have adored (as gods) for four thousand years.

lic. Every citizen of such republic is a policeman. And every tenth man will probably be an unsalaried magistrate.

Second. The local primary, whether in the Grange or in the civil state, is a pure democracy. And every step beyond that in the direction of making the government a representative government is a source of feebleness and disorder to the republic. Not only is this so for reasons above given—not only does every remove of a governmental act from the source of the power by which it is to be performed involve waste of force, friction, and intermediate parts ever liable to become deranged—but this removal of a governmental action away from the source of the power by which it is to be performed, involves an enfeebling of the democratic element in the governmental agency by which that act is to be performed. Democracy is the greatest, most homogeneous, and most characteristic part or principle of the republic. Its representative part is an assimilation to despotism, and is the occasion of all the complications, feebleness, abuse of power, corruption and diseases that affect the republic, after its constituency are really transmuted from their low-grade and high-grade despotism.

It is the large amount of representative machinery in the American republic (needful it may be on account

of the remaining international functions to be performed), that most largely interrupts the otherwise effective educational action of the republic to republic-anize (Racialize) its constituency.

It is the inordinate amount of representative action in the American republic that gives rise to all the hideousness of its current deformities, particularly that of regarding official position as a high-grade monarchical class elevation. The Americans not only indulge in a vast and needless amount of representative governmental action — the southern and middle states having practically no local primary acting as a pure democracy* — but they have not yet learned that there is anything vitiating to the republic in the introduction of any amount of dictation, provided only that the dictator be elective at some period, and in some form. Their whole judiciary system is little else than an unmodified excerpt from the despotic system of the dark ages.

The aristocracy of wealth has a thoroughly blighting and deforming action on the American Republic which it could not have were the civil organization reduced as nearly as practicable to a democracy.

The insane admission of foreigners to full participation in the government without any practical delay for

* Functionaries sent down from higher grade organizations (town, or county), dictate the details of local government (in the school district, or highway district),

naturalization, is a practical ignoring of all difference of mould or quality between the monarchical and the non-monarchical mind, and necessitates a vast amount of confusion in views and in practice—the aristocracy of wealth and the aristocracy of office form part of this confusion—and prevent anything distinctively non-monarchical from coming to maturity, or becoming distinctively distinguishable from imported relics of despotism.

The unavoidable influx of foreigners (destined to be a perpetual influx, but perpetually becoming less and less injurious to the republicanism of the republic as other portions of the race become less and less monarchical) and the remaining but perpetually diminishing necessity there is that the American Republic perform the part of a dissevered nation among dissevered nations, constitute two potent and abiding causes to deter the American Republic from perfecting itself in all that pertains peculiarly to non-monarchical organization.

The American Republic is the first genuine, viable and maturable specimen of non-monarchical organization which has ever appeared in history in the civil sphere. And, considering the Racial nature of the republic, and the necessity there is that all the institutions of a community assimilate each other in their

organic type, it is hardly possible that a specimen of non-monarchical order should perfect itself permanently in any subordinate sphere more completely than that type of order is perfected in the civil sphere. It is perhaps not possible that another republic, more perfectable than the American should germinate elsewhere. Hence we see the supreme necessity there is that the Grange be instituted and sustained auxiliary to the civil organization for the special study and practice (as in a gymnasium) of non-monarchical organization, to the end that citizens may therein perfect themselves in the principles and practices of non-monarchical organic order, and transfer the benefits of this perfecting to the civil state.

The doctrine herein contained is this: There are two and only two great radical all-including but inimical types of organic social order; monarchy and the non-monarchical type—the genuine republic. All intermediate specimens are distressful mongrels, that cannot thrive, and always eventuate in one of these or the other. The past historic era of human society was dominated by monarchy. The future era is destined to be non-monarchical. Monarchy being fitted to the youthful, inexperience and waywardness of the human race, and non-monarchical order being adapted to the wants of society in its more mature stage, the change

from monarchy to the non-monarchical type of social order results from, is timed and brought about by Racial development.

The two diverse types being inimical each to the other, they cannot permanently co-exist; and the present is the epoch of transition—some few centuries in extent—during which Racial society passes from its monarchical to its non-monarchical type of organic order.

This transition state is, of course, a state in which society is barred the proper benefits of either type of organic order. It presents a confused, chaotic intermingling of the antagonistic elements of each in which neither prevails universally; but here one, and there the other.

America supplied its vast unoccupied arena for the development of non-monarchical civilization, as the epoch of transition begun. Asia, with its worn out peoples, appears to be in a state of social decay, as yet past reaction. Europe has more recently entered on the transition process. Its dictatorial organizations in church and state are involved in hopeless desuetude, but as yet, save possibly in Switzerland or Holland, no community is sufficiently free from individual conformation to the dictatorial type of organic order to erect a viable republic.

Here comes into view the greatest of all the practical problems of modern society. And its truth is being demonstrated at enormous cost in various quarters. The problem is this: Can the same individual mind at the same time bear conformity to each of the two antagonistic types of social organization? The truth of it is, that neither can the individual mind or the mind of the community bear conformity to each of the two antagonistic types of social organization at one and the same time.

The American Republic demonstrated this truth at an absolutely incomputable expense, when she planted the utterly despotic institution of domestic slavery in the heart of her otherwise non-monarchical system. The philosophic truth of the matter was that the two antagonistic types of organic order could not co-exist in one community, even though one of the two was confined to a subordinate sphere while the other presided in the civil system. The same mind, either of the individual or of the community, could not conform itself to both. One or the other must perish. The only felicity in the case was the rapidity with which the conflicting elements of organic order wrought at their respective results. Less than a century embraced the process. And the world was instructed by its termination. Instructed on two important points. First.

That in the characteristic conflicts of the epoch of transition it is the non-monarchical side that wins. (This may not be universally accepted, until it shall have been at various times redemonstrated.) Second. The specific institution of domestic slavery is inimical to the well-being of the republic.

It remains for the voice of science (the science of society), to add to this second instruction, that no dictatorial organization, even in a subordinate sphere, can permanently co-exist with non-monarchical organization in the civil state.

Mexico and the South American republics have spent the whole duration of their existence thus far in demonstrating the truth of the above general proposition, taking the Papal church instead of slavery as the subordinate institution. But France and Spain do not appear to be satisfied with the results wrought out — results of chronic revolution or anarchy — in the Papal republics of America, and accordingly France and Spain are each engaged in redemonstrating the same proposition. The United States are also busy in a small way, doing something in the same line. All these parties, perhaps, draw some short-sighted encouragement in their course from that late hoary oligarchy, misnamed in history, the Republic of Venice. It seems to have been left for Count Bismark and the Emperor

William to decide whether the Papal church, where it exists in any civil government, is or is not the subordinate institution.

Our position is that neither the permanence or the fruitfulness of society in its non-monarchical type of organization result from inflexible strength of organization, or from any cause other than the facility and success with which the average individual mind puts off conformity to organized dictation (the mould and habit that does nothing but what is ordered) and puts on the self-governing ability requisite to organic order of the non-dictatorial type.

From this position, in view of the foregoing reflections, nothing can be more important to the stability and fruitfulness in good of non-monarchically organic society, than that non-monarchical organization in the civil sphere should be seconded in its educational action on the individual mind by subordinate institutions acting to confer on that individual mind self-governing ability, and the self-governing habit, which conform it to the requisites of non-monarchical order in the civil sphere. And to this seconding of the educational action of non-monarchical order in the civil state, the Grange, of all subordinate institutions, is necessarily designed and pre-eminently adapted.

In the science of society it is affirmed — and step by

step the demonstrations may be produced when called for—that all the governmental evils complained of or silently endured in the American Republic result from a single cause, and are amenable to a single remedy. That cause is the embryonic immaturity of non-monarchical organization as exemplified in that Republic. That remedy is the maturing to perfection, after its kind, of the non-monarchical organization of civil society in that Republic.

That relics of organic monarchy remain yet to be removed from the transitional republic as it now exists, is demonstrably true; and will become apparent to every one who scientifically discriminates between monarchy and non-monarchical order. But these elements of monarchical organism must not be withdrawn faster than the new creations of non-monarchical organization are produced to fill their place. Otherwise anarchical inorganicness will prevail to that extent.

Now, non-monarchical organization in society, civil or subordinate, we defined to be a product of nature—a vital, vegetative, organic growth, to be studied out, discovered, comprehended and conformed to by man in the exercise of his voluntary intelligence, as the vital, vegetative, organic structure dictated by nature for the physical, or mental, or emotional individual is studied out, comprehended and conformed to in all that we do

to promote our own and each other's individual welfare. The chief difference between society and the individual is, that society, in its general type and organization, is a solitary organization that has no parallel to be compared, while the individual is indefinitely and perpetually duplicated, and can be studied beforehand throughout the course of all its natural changes, and can be dissected and analyzed, as it appears in every variety of situation in any number of specimens for our instruction before we are called upon to act finally and responsibly.

In the necessity of finding out the dictates of nature and conforming to them, there is a perfect parallel between the case in which we act voluntarily to promote the welfare of the individual, and the case in which we act voluntarily to promote the well-being of society.

We have herein before explained that it is not by laboring to perfect fixed and inflexible forms of organic construction that non-monarchical society is to be assisted in achieving perpetuity or fruitfulness. Such voluntary assistance is (unlike what was assumed to be true in the era of monarchy) to be effectively rendered only by imparting the non-monarchical mould—the republican mould—the Racial mould—the development of individual faculty which empowers for self-

government—to the average individual. The urgent necessity there is for voluntary action in the direction of conferring this republicanization on the average individual at the present epoch cannot be over estimated. The epoch in which Racial development brings a permanent enlargement of the sphere of personal liberty to its normal maximum by the obliterating of all human dictation is the epoch that brings to voluntary man a corresponding enhancement of his responsibility for the well-being of society, civil and subordinate.

In the era of monarchy man's voluntary intelligence was permitted to accomplish extremely little in shaping the character or conduct of the dissevered and warring despotisms, and depraved and bickering classes, of which society in that era was exclusively composed. These despotisms and classes were natural, vital, organic, vegetative growths, only in the least possible degree amenable to human intelligence or human volition. In the now commencing era of democracy, on the contrary, the construction and activities of organic society, while yet having an organic type of construction, and mode of activity dictated by nature, to be discovered and conformed to by man in his sphere of intelligent volition, are to the last degree amenable to man's designing action. So amenable is society to

human intelligence and design in this now commencing era that without the constant pressure in that direction of wise, well-informed, well-timed, well-directed voluntary human exertion *the highest attainable well-being of society will not be realized* in either the civil or subordinate spheres.

How? Where? and when, is this voluntary and intelligent human effort to be brought to bear in achieving the highest attainable well-being of society? Not by the mere unorganized action of individuals, but by organic combinations (permanently organic upon indisputable principles) like the above proposed Grange, acting first to exclude devouring parasites and putrescent fungi; and, second, to assist the perfecting, after its kind, of the non-monarchical state, by seconding its educational action to develop individual faculty and mould individual taste, and aim, and habit to the discharge of the distinctively non-monarchical functions of the individual constituent of the republic.

And not only so, but the same high aim is to be simultaneously advanced by all the subordinate institutions of society that live and act within the boundaries of the republic, churches included, putting on more or less rapidly, and more or less completely, the form and action we have above defined, as appropriate to the Grange. When this consummation is achieved,

and not till then, will organic non-monarchical order in the civil state be so far perfected after its kind as to secure the highest attainable well-being of the people whom that civil state organizes.

CHAPTER IX.

NON-DISSEVERABILITY AN ESSENTIAL QUALITY OF BOTH THE REPUBLIC AND THE REPUBLICAN IN EVERY SPHERE.

We must here deal more directly and fully with what may be termed a higher branch in the science of society. We have repeatedly touched upon it already where we used the term Racial, and where we spoke of the reunification of the Race.

We have hitherto in these papers striven to keep in contact with the common mind — the mind not largely trained to sustained processes of thought and acute discrimination. We will endeavor to do so still; but what we have here to present will at first appear abstruse. Our subject has already become to no small degree complex. We started to describe the nature and necessary organization of the Grange. We distinguished this from the dual political party which it is obviously destined to replace. We then pointed out its identity of type with the non-monarchical organization of society in the civil sphere, and its grand function in educationally aiding the civil republic to perfect

itself, by conforming the individual mind to the peculiar requirements of such novel type of non-monarchical organization. In doing this we had to bring to view the current epoch of transition, and somewhat distinctly characterize the past and future incongruous eras of organic society which this epoch of transition links together in one continuous process and progression of Racial development. Which Racial development betrays vital organic oneness and vegetative growth in human society and leads to a condition of maturity, perfection and fruition in the benefits of organic society not yet attained. This is more of philosophy than the Granger bargained for when he began to read about improvements in the organization of his new-fashioned Agricultural Society. But mind must grow, and hopes must grow, and hearts must grow, and nowhere with more healthfulness and certainty than in the agricultural walks of life. There is the great school from which the democratic rulers of the world in its best and yet future era of nationless, warless, classless society must largely graduate. And those future rulers of the future society will be no generation of dunces.

The theme which we have here to deal with more formally and more exclusively than we have dealt with it before, is the non-disseverability of maturely non-monarchical society, something in the quality of the

organic order of what we term the republic, which renders it non-labile to being permanently divided into bickering, warring, fragments.

When we speak of all international disseverments (across which all the wars of history have been fought, and without which no international war could ever have come into existence) becoming spontaneously extinct under the modern applications of steam, electricity and the art of printing, we go not very far beyond the usual limits of travel in a field into which modern thought and literature have been compelled to advance. When we deduce from that inevitable and not very far future obliterating of international disseverments, the extinguishment of international war and interclass distinctions, the average individual of the republican mind can still keep in sight of us. But when we affirm that non-susceptibility to being split, to being dissevered, is an essential characteristic, inhering in all genuinely republican organization, we expect the average reader to stop and stare. Yet science (the science of society) affirms and demonstrates as much. Wherein this quality of non-monarchical organization (which means republican organization) appears; and what formal organic feature evinces its presence; we do not yet find ourselves able to declare. But that no genuine republic, either in the civil sphere or in the

sphere of subordinate institutions—not even the Grange—can exist in any perfectness without this quality of non-susceptibility of being split into two or more rival organisms, is demonstrably a condition precedent to such organization being genuinely and permanently non-monarchical.

Without this quality in its texture, without this non-susceptibility to being divided, as an essence of the material individual of which an organic social body is composed, the non-monarchically organic order of that body must be a mere accident; and when the conditions requisite to the maintaining of this accidental state of non-monarchical organic order change, the organic order itself will change, and the body thereupon become monarchical or chaotic.

This quality of non-disseverability is of necessity present either in the structure of the republic, or in the material individual of whom the republic is composed. And, as we have before concluded that nothing in the formal construction or organization of the republic insures its perpetuity, we conclude that the quality of non-disseverability resides in the material individual of whom the organization is composed. And nothing in the organic structure of the republican or non-monarchical body can countervail or neutralize this quality of the material organized.

In other words, if men have not more wit than to be capable of forming themselves, or of being formed by others, into two lines and set to fighting each other, such men are incapable of being constituted into a genuine republic or a Grange, as we have defined the Grange. If by accident of time or place such men at any time appear in the form of a republic, that form is of necessity only transitionally, immaturely, accidentally, republican; liable at any time with or without splitting into two or more quarreling fragments, to succumb to human dictation and put on the form of monarchical organization. Such material as that never can compose the permanently, reliably, maturely, non-monarchical society of the peaceful, fruitful era of the future, either in its civil, ecclesiastical or other subordinate sphere of organization.

Now what is it in non-monarchical organization that debars it from counteracting this non-disseverability of its material? There never was a monarchically organic body that was not at any hour liable to be split in two, and consumed by the disposition which attended on, or arose from the split, to fight section against section. If any monarchy, civil, ecclesiastical or other subordinate in its sphere ever was for a time secure against disseverment and a self-consuming war of parts, that security arose from not the nature of the organiza-

tion or the quality of the material organized, but from the strength of its organization, the ability and selfish violence of its ruling class, or the cowed abjectness of its classes ruled, or from both these causes conjoined. And now what is it, in non-monarchical organization that distinguishes it from monarchy?

Is it the simple looseness, lightness, flexibility — the rope-of-sand quality — of non-monarchical order, that renders it non-labile to dismemberment? Or that gives such efficacy to the tolerant liberality (the Raciality) of the individual as to preclude dismemberment?

When Jefferson Davis and his confederate slaveholders declared the American Republic irrevocably sundered into two dismembered civil organizations, that is, into two organic civil bodies so dismembered as to be capable of warring upon each other; and Gladstone, the then Premier of England, clapped his hands with joy and said: "Jefferson Davis has created a nation;" the event did not turn out according to the programme. Wherein was the mistake? The mistake was precisely here. Both these oracular utterances were put forth by men of the old-time way of thinking — were put forth in view of the supposed fact that human society was to continue to be ruled in the then future, as it had been ruled in the then past era, namely: On monarchical principles. Whereas, Racial development had

brought the American Republic (unknown to any one) into the condition of non-disseverability characteristic of the maturely non-monarchical society of the coming era. The founders of the American Republic had linked the several States of their Union together in relations too elastic to be sundered—relations too aptly fitting the elasticity of the individual republican mind to admit of being either compressed into monarchical solidity which can always be split, or sundered into such disseverment as would react in war.

True, the slaveholders sagaciously effected a rupture of the organic Republic. But the genuine republics do not owe their permanence to the strength of their organic forms, but rather to the non-monarchical condition of the material organized. And the quality of non-disseverability was so dominant in the average individual of the American mind, that though organic disseverment was actually wrought out by the remonarchised slaveholders, and all European monarchists shouted hosannas to the treason, the American Republic proved itself non-disseverable.*

Now, if we take the American Republic and the individual American republican as specimens of non-monarchical order, and of non-monarchical character,

* The secession of the slave states was only an artificial achievement within the realm of volition and personality; and, therefore, it had no abiding existence in the realm of uniform law and vital organization.

sufficiently mature to possess this quality of non-disseverability, can we point out the particulars wherein it resides, or whereby its presence is manifested?

First we notice in the organization of the republic that graded series of organizations, by virtue of which, in the local primary of purely democratic construction, the individual possesses all the liberty and all the sovereignty that is capable of being distributed alike to all. While at the same time each local primary and its every individual member is a vital member of the higher grade organism which includes all the other local primaries and all their individual members, so that no local primary, no individual member of that body, neither any of the organizations of intermediate grade, can enact any war within the limits of the highest (the national) organization, any more than the hand or foot of an organic vital physical body can make war upon its fellow member of the same vital body. This insures non-disseverability as long as the organization throughout remains vital. The organic vitality of the organization must die out, as the organic vitality of the American Republic died largely out, killed by the despotic principle of slaveholding, before disseverment will become practicable, even on the part of the revolted member of the general organism.

This great quality of the civil state becomes silently,

and insensibly imparted to the individual member of that state. Thus the two, the state and the individual, reciprocally act and react each on the other to perpetuate, propagate and perfect each other in non-disseverability.

We have spoken of the quality of non-disseverability as precluding social disseverment from within the organic social body. We must speak of it as precluding relations of disseverment between such organic body and other social bodies external to itself. Not that the quality of non-disseverability, or non-disseveredness, as we may now term it, will force other organic social bodies in its plane to unite with the non-dissevered body; but it will preclude all cause on the part of the non-dissevered body for other social bodies in its plane (civil, ecclesiastical or other) to remain dissevered from itself.

Is that so? Will the same quality which makes a body non-disseverable within itself make it at the same time, as far as its own action goes, non-dissevered from other social bodies in its plane? Yes, this is undoubtedly so. The social body, which is undisseverable in itself, is undisseverable from other bodies in its plane, except in cases in which the disseverment of such other social bodies takes place by

virtue of qualities possessed by those other social bodies, necessitating disseverment.

For instance. The republic is a social body non-disseverable within itself, if at all mature, and by virtue of this non-disseverableness of the republic, it stands in non-dissevered relations with every other neighboring civil body, except that neighboring civil body by virtue of its own qualities of disseverment compel the republic to stand dissevered from it; as will always be the case if such other neighboring civil body be a monarchy, and will not be the case if such other neighboring civil body be a republic of any considerable approximation to maturity. That is, if it be a republic sufficiently mature to itself possess the quality of non-disseverability.

Hence, it comes about that if their geographical proximity be such as to admit of union, all genuine republics will spontaneously and inevitably unite in one as fast as each becomes sufficiently mature to come into possession of the quality of internal non-disseverability. And all monarchies will stand apart, antagonistic and latently, or overtly hostile to that republic by virtue of the essential disseverability and disseveredness inherent in every monarchy.

By virtue of the inherent quality of disseveredness in every monarchy, no monarchy ever was able perma-

nently to become universal. Disseverment and universality are so incongruous, and disseverment and monarchy so innately congenial to each other, that no monarchy ever was able to exist universally with any permanence or satisfaction. This history proves. And it is the most important and the most conspicuous of all the problems that history solves. Whereas non-monarchical order will always spontaneously fill the plane it occupies, whether that plane be the civil, the ecclesiastical or any other arena; bringing every organic body in that plane into vital organic union with itself; unless such other body be monarchical in type, and hence inimical to the republic. This the republic will effect by means of its graded series of organizations; erecting one high enough to cover and unite all the other republics in that plane as vital members of itself.

Two facts here need to be noted as essential to the mature republic. First, it excludes none who are sufficiently non-monarchical in character to desire to become its members. Else such excluded republicans could remain by necessity external and hostile to the excluding republic. Second, the republic cannot adopt as the ground or condition precedent to membership any disputable principle or practice. Else those dis-

puting what is adopted remain outside and hostile, being republicans.

The civil state is necessitated, for its own security, organically to embrace all individuals who dwell within its boundaries, coercing crime. The Grange is free from this necessity, and can organize all the friends and exclude all the enemies of the public welfare. All coexisting Granges, being non-monarchical in organic type, will spontaneously unite in graded organizations superior to the local Grange.

The same will be true of the church non-monarchically organic. It will exclude no individual or church, the same being unequivocally true and evangelical in type of faith, which is sufficiently non-monarchical to desire union with it. Neither will it include as ground of organization any point of faith disputable among those who are admitted to be truly evangelical. These two are points essential to and characteristic of non-disseverability.

CHAPTER X.

NON-DISSEVERABILITY AS A PERSONAL AND AS A SOCIAL TRAIT, AND THE TWO RECIPROCALLY DEPENDING—THE CHRISTIAN SECTS AS EXAMPLES.

It is of society we treat. But as the life of the physical individual has no exclusive part in which it resides or from which its manifestations are distributed, but is made up in the aggregate of the vitality of every single cell which enters into the physical structure; so society not only derives its vitality as the aggregate from the vitalities of every individual of whom that society is composed, but society derives also its type of life from the type of the vitalities of the individuals who compose that society; and the type of the vitality of any living organism determines the form and texture and quality of the organism in which that vitality proceeds to clothe itself.* The vitality of the oak gathers about itself the peculiar structure of the oak. The vitality of the horse, when once initiated, gathers about

* "There are stages in the history of both vegetable and animal forms in which the whole organism consists of an almost structureless speck of free and active protoplasm."

itself the peculiar structure of the horse. The vitality of the physical man, when once initiated, gathers to itself all that pertains to the physical structure of the man. So the vitality of human society of any specific type, gathers to itself by spontaneous vegetative process all that naturally pertains to society of that specific type. And, if by reason of the component particle of human society being endowed with a certain breadth of voluntary freedom, that particle disadapts itself to the peculiar social structure into which it enters, such individual remains to that extent unassimilated, and becomes, if not a foreign substance in the social organism, a vice, a source of disease, impairing the perfection of the structure and the health of its action, communicating an impaired or vitiated vitality to the society of which it forms a part. Every abnormal individual who enters into the structure of any social body thus acts to impair the vitality of that body (that community) as well as to deform and enfeeble its organism.

Now the quality of the individual, by virtue of which quality that individual is fitted to become a perfectly normal member of a non-monarchical community, for lack of a word that is decent and extant we must call individual non-monarchicality, an expression that ought never to be repeated but to give precision of import to the term individual republicanism. Individual non-

monarchization must, in like manner, give precision of import to the expression, republicanization, meaning the conferring or attaining of the individual qualities without which one is unfit and unable to become at once a normal member of a maturely non-monarchical community, that is, of a community or a social body that is non-monarchically organic.

Among the specific attainments which enter into the complex whole of personal republicanization is one of which we desire here to speak particularly. It is that quality by action of which the individual finds himself incapacitated for entering into society of the dissevered type.

Society of the dissevered type is probably always identical with society which is monarchically organic. It may exist in either the civil, the ecclesiastical, or other subordinate sphere. Although the organic type of society in these several spheres can never remain permanently unlike in any one community, on account of the fact that society is composed in varying numbers of the same individuals in all its several spheres, and no individual can at one and the same time possess the qualities which enable him to live and act in both of the two great antagonistic types of organic social order.

What we mean by dissevered society is society which has the requisite qualities for standing apart, in a dis-

connected position from, and in an antagonistic or belligerent relation to, other society in its own sphere and of its own kind. For instance, civil society, which has the qualities that incline and enable it normally to stand dissevered from, and in antagonistic or belligerent relations to, other neighboring civil society, is dissevered or disseverable society, in our use of terms, whether such society do or do not actually stand in dissevered, antagonistic or belligerent relations to other neighboring civil society. What we here instance in civil society holds good in ecclesiastical society within the limits of a substantially identical faith. Between ecclesiastical communities of antagonistic faiths organic oneness would be as abnormal and monstrous as is disseverment between different ecclesiastical communities of substantially the same faith.

What we mean by non-disseverability (that factor in the sum of what constitutes republicanization) is a quality by virtue of which the civil, ecclesiastical or other community possessing it is incapable, so far as itself is concerned, and without internal change, of standing in dissevered, antagonistic or belligerent relations toward a neighboring community in its own sphere and of its own kind.

Civil society is of but one kind, apart from its partaking or non-partaking in the qualities of the same

great type of organic social order. Hence the quality of non-disseverability will spontaneously unify civil society, banishing war and the very liability to war, from within the limits to which it prevails. While the natural antagonism between monarchical and non-monarchical society, between disseverable and non-disseverable society, will rage along the boundary to which non-disseverable society extends. Will continue to rage, sometimes with bloody weapons (as in the late war of secession in the American Republic) till the epoch of transition is passed, and these two antagonistic types of organic society no longer coexist.

In the ecclesiastical sphere, the coexisting of antagonistic faiths, of which science points us to no prospective termination (unless such termination is to finally ensue from natural selection, and the survival of the fittest) necessitates one of those perpetual antagonisms which are probably needful to prevent unhealthful social stagnation. Unified and non-disseverable civil organization in the meantime confining ecclesiastical antagonism strictly within the limits of the ecclesiastical sphere—a feat which the American Republic never has conceived the idea of undertaking, but which Prince Bismarck and the Emperor of Germany are seriously engaged in.

Our specific purpose in this chapter is to point out

the relation between personal non-disseverability, and non-disseverability as a quality of the organic community. The two are reciprocally creative and promotive of each other as far as their action is unobstructed. And neither can be permanently or seriously obstructed without creating deadly disease of the non-monarchically organic community.

What is true of non-disseverability as a quality of the individual mind, and of the non-disseverability as a quality of the organic community, and of the reciprocal relation between them, is true also of disseverability as a quality of the individual mind, and disseverability as a quality of the organic community, and of the reciprocal relations between the two. And the indispensableness of non-disseverability, individual and social, to the unimpaired vitality of society of the non-monarchical type, is paralleled by the indispensableness of disseverability, individual and social, to the unimpaired vitality of society of the monarchical type.

The term, disseverability, and its counter term, non-disseverability, have properly no meaning whatever when applied to the individual, inasmuch as no individual is internally disseverable. But for lack of language we agree to use these terms to describe the individual's participation or non-participation in the

qualities which each term describes when applied to society.

Now it is Racial development that confers non-disseverability on the individual, and through the individual on society composed of the individuals possessing the personal quality which we have agreed that this term shall describe.

But Racial development does not act with equal promptness on all the individuals of the race. Hence it is only those individuals who are most proficient (advanced) in Racial development that manifest or possess this quality of non-disseverability. And it is only the society which is composed of these most advanced individuals that manifests or possesses this quality. And if an individual possesses this quality and the community into which he is organized possess it not, or *vice versa*, then cometh a jargon, and an unhealthful interruption of Racial development, of social development, of individual development.

Such jargon and unhealthful interrupting of natural development runs throughout society during the epoch of transition. Its distressful action has long been everywhere felt and everywhere manifested. But never till now has science attempted to define its origin or effect, or to point intelligent volition to its remedying.

It is not a moral phenomenon, this jargon and interrupted development above described, using the term moral in its sense of merit or demerit. All moral or religious action occurs in the realm of volition and personality. Whereas in these papers we speak of nothing outside the exclusive realm of uniform law.

The action of the quality which we describe as personal non-disseverability (it is little else than latent participation in the reunifying of the race after its long era of international and interclass disseverment) is to incline and enable its possessor (the individual on whom Racial development has bestowed this quality), to object inexorably to being enlisted in any of the countless crusades by which organic bodies of the dissevered type are overtly or in latent fashion battling each other for dominion.

No two nations ever coexisted, or ever will coexist, within each other's reach, without consuming international war, latent or overt, raging between them. A nation is an organic but dissevered fraction of the human family—of human society. The American Republic is not a nation, but an incipient reunification of the Race—an incipient reunification of Racial society—characterized by the quality we have above described as non-disseverability. It imposes on its own behalf no obstacle to the entire reunifying of the Race in the

inherently warless and non-disseverable organization of which it is itself the genuine but unperfected embodiment. The American Republic is compelled against its innate nature during the years of its feeble incipency to act the part of a dissevered nation among dissevered nations. But this necessity vanishes as transitional time rolls on — as dissevered nations put on more and more the non-disseverable quality imposed by their tardy but real participation in Racial development — and as the American Republic gradually rises above the fear and the danger of being involved in international hostilities.

Nations are dissevered, and hence disseverable fractions of organic society of the same kind and in the same sphere. Were they so dissimilar, each from the others, as to be in different spheres, or different planes, or of different kinds, there could occur no hostility between them. Were they unlike in any such sense as the antagonistic beliefs of essential religion are unlike, there would be no possibility of, or desirableness in, organic union between them.* But since they are of the same kind and in the same plane and sphere, were they not organically marked by the quality we have designated, disseverability, they would spontaneously

* We confine ourselves exclusively within the limits of what can and what cannot be done by social organization.

merge into a single, warless, Race-wide, civil organization.

The individual mind which has, by Racial development, been impressed with the quality we call non-disseverability, will inexorably refuse to become a member, or to remain a member of one of these essentially dissevered and hence necessarily warring nations. One says he wants liberty, meaning thereby the broadened sphere of personal freedom which non-monarchically organic society does, but which monarchically organic society does not, confer upon its component individual. He does not intellectually comprehend exactly what he does want. He wants and must have liberty to pay no more taxes in blood, or brain work, or in heart's affections, or in coined or uncoined bodily or mental toil, to carry on the eternal wars, latent or overt, which exist necessarily* between all organic disseverable and dissevered fractions of human society in the civil sphere.

The quality we have described as disseverability is a chief factor in the sum of the requisites of monarchical organization. Add to this the necessary contraction of the sphere of personal liberty, the consequent and commensurate contraction of the faculties of self-government, the permanent distinction of classes and

* See Appendix C.

organization by subordination of parts under an exclusively responsible head, and you will have the whole ensemble of warring monarchy which non-monarchically organized society negates in every essential particular.

The quality we have termed non-disseverability, conferred by Racial development on the individual, will not only incline and enable one inexorably to reject, protest against and avoid dissevered and disseverable society in the civil sphere, with its insatiable war-tax, but will also impel him with the same inexorable discrimination to review organic society in the ecclesiastical sphere. And there the hoary and colossal organization of the Papacy presents itself as an ecclesiastical successor in the line of universal civil empire, more permanent and more invulnerable than any of the world-wide embodiments of despotism that had preceded it in the civil sphere. But its departures from the essential theism and monotheism of revealed religion are so enormous—departures in the direction of paganism and polytheism—departures dictated by the exigencies of organized dictation in the ecclesiastical sphere; that, unless all acquaintance with the theism of revelation shall have been obliterated from the observer's mind, the question of theism itself will eclipse all considerations of organic type, and will lead to the repudi-

ating of the hoary and colossal embodiment of dictatorial order for the pagan impurities, infirmities, and polytheism of its divinity. If such acquaintance with the theism of revelation be wanting, as it almost inevitably is in the papal mind, precluding comparison between protestantism and papacy in respect to theism, then the mind impressed by Racial development with the non-disseverable quality will adjure papacy and all it contains of theism, impelled by the vehemence of its impulses toward non-disseverable society. Only the Herculean grasp in which the papal despotism holds the abject masses of its votaries, to the last degree destitute of intelligence, of occupied liberty, and of power to will—only the formal vigor of its organization, laying the foundations of its strength in a ubiquitous manipulation of the plastic mind of infancy—only the unapproachable elevation of its hierarchal rulers in a class distinction enforced, and in a superiority aggrandized by all the terrors that can be conjured to the mind of the ignorant out of an unrevealed eternity, have kept this colossal despotism in the ecclesiastical sphere from crumbling out of sight in spontaneous decay ere the Racial transition could have reached its present stage. But, by whatever means kept up, while the Papacy lasts, the minds subjected to its sway will be inimical to non-monarchical order in the civil

sphere — not perhaps in the realm of volition and personality, but in the realm of uniform law they will be so, and the dictates of uniform law override, neutralize and annul all the direct decisions of voluntary intelligence wherever the two conflict.

We now come to view the individual that has been impressed by Racial development with what we term personal non-disseverability, as Protestant organizations pass in review before him. He sees that these Protestant organizations are all graded in respect to their several degrees of departure from the despotic pattern of the Papacy. The Anglican episcopacy ignores community of Theism (existing between itself and any neighboring ecclesiastical body) and inexorably unchurches whoever does not enter through the prescribed gate into its antique and dingy fold, there to have all responsibility for his salvation borne by the long buried compilers of its rubrics and the living representatives of apostolic succession — enter its antique and dingy fold there to be taxed with all expenses incurred in carrying out the war against all Protestant christendom besides, for the maintenance of this inexorable exclusiveness (disseverment) — taxed with taxes in personal liberty — taxes in that development of voluntary faculty which this contraction of liberties involves — taxed with taxes in the cutting off of christian fellowship and the suppressing of half of all

the christian courtesies to which the holders of a common faith, by that faith are moved — taxes in men and means, not only to maintain the old forsaken stations, but to carry this colossal and antique incumbrance to thousands of places where it is not wanted, and can only be introduced by re-monarchising Republican minds.

Next comes the American offshoot of the Anglican system, slightly modified in the direction of non-monarchical order, by the introduction of lay delegates, to sit in convention with its governing hierarchy. But still exempting its members to the last possible degree from any exercise of choice or responsibility in matters religious or ecclesiastical, and thereby training them to exemplary and notable incapacity for any participation in the affairs of self-governing society. Here, too, the same costly and (in a Republic age) disgraceful war for the maintenance of exclusiveness, with all its characteristic taxes has to be sustained.

Next the Presbyterian system passes in review. It claims that all of democracy there is in a republic more remote from dictation than representative government is not safely to be trusted. It was in place in the age and in the countries where co-existing civil monarchy was inevitable. It was the nearest approach to non-dictatorial organization then and there practicable.

But by determining (as did the Jews at the beginning of the christian era), to prohibit all further development in their ecclesiastical system — by averring that human society is a crystal, and not a vegetative growth, and by investing their creeds and forms with dictatorial authority, the Presbyterians have numbered themselves with the enemies of the further maturing of non-monarchical order, and tax their members to maintain indiscriminate war on all who are either more or less republican than themselves, caring little to inquire whether those from whom they stand organically dis severed, believe in or reject the theism to which they, themselves, adhere. This quality of disseverability and disseverment of the Presbyterians appears, if possible, more aimless, and causeless, than the same unfortunate and costly qualities in any other ecclesiastical organization. The Presbyterians have advanced far enough in their departure from dictatorial organization toward non-monarchical order to be able, by going one costless step farther in the same direction, to rid themselves of all the costs and embarrassments of disseverment — to open their gates to all who desire to enter and are not excluded by doctrinal error — to fellowship all churches of similar evangelical faith who value or would reciprocate their fellowship, and thus to put themselves on the non-dissevered list. But, instead of doing this, and

thus placing themselves in the forefront of a Racial movement that is to reunify the christian church, the Presbyterians inexorably resist any farther approaches toward non-monarchical organization — any farther approaches to non-disseverability — inexorably refuse, so far as they are concerned, to permit the church of Christ to become organically one, or to put on the only type of organic order in which such return to its primitive unity is even possible.*

But we are making our observations and uttering discovered truth, not in the realm of personality and volition (the realm of praise or blame), but in the realm of uniform law (a realm in which personal volition is overruled, and all praise or blame bestowed on human actors is out of place).

No organic body ever yet consented to die ; but dies, if die it must, because compelled to die, by the exhaustion of its supply of internal vitality, or by a cessation of those external conditions which render a further prolongation of its vitality possible. The Presbyterian church, existing in its several organic specimens, is an organic vital body. It is of dictatorial type, but so far

* During twenty centuries preceding the christian era all human activities in the sphere of organic society were expended in one universal and uninterrupted experiment demonstrating the impossibility of a peaceful, permanent, or healthful unification of human society in organization of the monarchical type. All past christian centuries have been spent in a repetition of this experiment, with like result, in the ecclesiastical sphere.

modified in the direction of non-monarchically organic order as to be properly termed a complex, transitional body. Hence, it feels not severely the change of moral atmosphere that is summoning every perfectly despotic system to expire. The Presbyterian church will remain a fossil till Racial development shall have so far impressed its members with personal non-monarchy, and personal non-disseverability, that they will refuse longer to be taxed to maintain its exclusiveness and to carry on the resulting wars with other acceptors of its evangelical faith.

Next in review come the Methodists. They are the disciples of John Wesley. Persons and methods are the objects with which they deal. In creeds and doctrines they confide but lightly. They form a Papacy as nearly as they can without a personal Pope. They depend upon an endless multiplicity of minor functionaries to drill a permanently mindless and non-intelligent mass. Disseverment they value as one of the highest excellencies of their system. And as for those outside of their exclusive boundaries they care little who accepts or who rejects the essentials of evangelical faith. The church universal is to them a blank. Only what lies or comes within their exclusive limits is to them real. And revealed truth in their hands becomes modified to adapt itself to these deformed conditions

The God they worship has no pleasure in anything but Methodism. Conversion from the world, in their vocabulary, means to join the Methodist body. All their energies are devoted to augment their numbers. After the example of their worthy founder, they pay their chief attention to the poor and uneducated.

The particulars in which the Methodist body is deficient in conformity to non-monarchical society are exceptionally organic, and lie within the realm of uniform law, and not in the realm of personal praise or blame. But they are none the less disastrous.

Next come the Baptists. They have a non-monarchical organization internally, but do not allow it to inclose any but the immersed. What others believe or reject matters little to them. They stultify themselves by denying that they regard baptism as a saving ordinance, and then declaring that it is a matter of such importance as to justify them in dissevering the church of Christ; and they bear their share of the cost of the necessary war between the dissevered fragments of that church.

Our reviewer of this array of Protestant sects, having been impressed by Racial development with something of intelligence, and with more of instinct, inexorably to reject disseverment, rejects unhesitatingly all these ecclesiastical sects, and if need so be in order to this,

rejects with them the essential faith to which in common they adhere. Unless he may chance to light upon some specimen of this faith essential to christianity that is non-monarchically and non-disseverably organic, this rejector of disseverment will, from natural necessity, live and die outside the boundaries of that faith. His tastes inexorably reject the latent or overt wars which necessarily prevail between each two of these dissevered sects, his intelligence as inexorably objects to being saddled with the costs of keeping up these wars.

The contribution which any one of these sects asks of him in the name of Christ, and to extend the benefits of evangelical religion, he gives from courtesy and under silent protest, knowing that from fifty to a hundred per cent thereof will be spent in efforts to keep that sect dissevered, and to keep it even with or in advance of its rival sects in their race for pre-eminence. It is not utterly unlike the bettings of the turf.

If there is an extant body of believers in the essentials of the christian faith, who are non-monarchically and non-disseverably organic, they are called for at the front, in this epoch of transition.* Aside from their being needed to fill an ecclesiastical position which none besides can fill—aside from their being needed

* See Appendix "D."

to render harmony possible between organic society in the civil and in the ecclesiastical spheres in the now commencing era of democracy—and aside from their being needed to convey the benefits (if benefits Philosophy shall find them out to be),* of revealed religion to those who cannot and will not receive the same diluted and deformed by the organized bickerings of sect—the non-monarchically and non-disseverably organic representatives of the Christian Church are compelled by the exigencies of their position practically to illustrate the organization of the Grange, and to hold up to view the essentials of revealed religion uncomplicated and uncumbered with any organic system of ecclesiastical dictation.

If they have been any time in existence, the world is concerned to observe in their experience what has been the action of their type of social order, in developing the latent self-governing faculties of the individual. And further than this, since with them human dominion has ceased to exist in the ecclesiastical sphere, the world desires to note whether or not with them the quest for theological truth has cooled down to the temperature of philosophical investigation, as that investigation advances in other fields of science, instead of being heated

* This parenthetical clause indicates nothing but the absolutely philosophical, non-religious and not irreligious, position which the author in this work occupies.

with all the ardor of dissevered sects battling with each other for dominion.

When we say that they of non-dictatorial and non-disseverable ecclesiastical polity are compelled practically to illustrate the organization of the Grange, we mean that on the non-monarchically organic church bears all the imperious need there is, as hereinbefore delineated, that the Grange come to the rescue of the non-monarchical state, and assist in educationally imparting to its average individual that non-monarchical, non-disseverable mould which qualifies him for equality of right and duty in the non monarchically self-governing state; and without which mould the healthful occupancy of such right, and the effective performance of such duty, is impracticable.

PERSONAL DISSEVERABILITY IN TURKEY. — A letter from Missionary Barrows in the *August Herald*, says: "Yozgat is filled with hungry, emaciated, dying men, women and children. Mothers with children at their breasts, and other little ones clinging to their tattered skirts, old men, and the sick, unable to stand, those that were strong young men, all alike pleading that they may not be left to die. The Mussulmans, through these famine stricken regions, have done very little, and in some places nothing, for the poor even of their own faith. The rich Turks store up grain in their houses, lock their doors, and let the poor die in the streets. Many of those who have grain are in league with the local governors, and so they are not compelled to sell."

PERSONAL NON-DISSEVERABILITY IN NEW YORK HIGH LIFE. — Personal unselfishness covers a multitude of sins. What a cloak for all weathers, all journeys, is this splendid garment! How the wearer of it is sought as a companion for a walk or for a voyage! how delightful is he in the family circle! what a reflex of our own moods, be they grave or gay! Such characters, informed and ennobled, become the real saints of the world; weakened or debased they are still dear to us; an unselfish person, be he saint or sinner, in a palace or prison, has friends and lovers, which the self-conscious person fails to gain, even though in his determined walk, in his premeditated course, he may move our respect, our admiration, and even our envy; he does not gain our love. — *Appleton's Journal*.

CHAPTER XI.

PERILS OF THE TRANSITION STATE.

Never, perhaps, in human history, apart from the convulsions of war, or the sudden crumbling of some worn out nationality, has society been in so unsettled, so disturbed, so unreliable a condition as in the American Republic in this 1875th year of the christian era.*

Within the realm of uniform law the discernible causes contributing to this result deserve to be pointed out, and their influence estimated and (in as far as may be) provided against.

The influx of immigration, approaching a ratio of one-tenth added to the previous population every ten years, or one per cent per annum, would tend to unsettle the stability of any government and social order, even of a stalwart despotism. But when the government and social order to which this enormous and unceasing influx is to be added, is a non-monarchical structure, owing, as we have already seen, its chance of stability not to rigidity of form or traditional antiquity, but to

* See Appendix "E."

nothing else than its own educationally moulding action on the mind of its constituency, conforming that mind to its own requirements; the social and governmental fabric will, of necessity, tremble under the impact of such a torrent.

When we reflect that every individual of all this decennial tenth, added to our self-governing population, is a monarchist, despite all his professed or real opinions and purposes to the contrary in the realm of personal volition, in the realm of uniform law all his hereditary and personal mould of character, trains of habit, and development of faculty have been impressed upon him by a type of government and social order inimical to the Republic, it becomes undeniably apparent that his entering into it can only be a detriment and source of peril to such Republic, at first, at least, whatever may be its ultimate effect.

When we consider further the refusal of the American Republic to acknowledge any natural disqualification in one born and bred a monarchist, unfitting and incapacitating him sanely* to participate at once in the governing franchise of the Republic, in accordance with

* Perhaps there is a shade of technicality about the word sanely, as used here and elsewhere in this work. When we speak of incapacity to act sanely, we mean more than a lack of intelligence, more than a lack of information; we mean a lack of those blind tastes and instincts that have guided multitudes of Republican organizers in the civil and in the ecclesiastical spheres while "they builded better than they knew," we mean the undeveloped condition of faculties without which in full activity one's intelligence can lead him only to dictatorial action.

which refusal the governmental franchise is thrust upon the immigrating monarchist almost at the moment of his landing (sometimes literally so), the causes of which we are in quest, will be seen to have accumulated to a point at which a considerable amount of confusion and feebleness in the legitimate workings of the Republic will be seen to have become inevitable.

When we add to all this the fact that the dual political party prevails in the Republic, that every second or fourth year the whole community is whipped into a perfect froth of political excitement and conflict, not to elect the best qualified ruler or reject the worst, but simply to gratify this organized gang of thieves instead of that other gang, with possession of official opportunity to tax the people and purloin the proceeds — that the men whose audacity it usually is that places them in control of these organic party forces would not only plunder the public treasury to purchase the support of Papists and unnaturalized foreigners, but would oftentimes consent to plunge the Republic into anarchy rather than fail of riding at its crest upon the wave of commotion; and thus, despite any well-bred modesty these foreigners may have brought with them from the fatherland, their ignorance and incapacity for intelligent participation in the governmental affairs of the Republic are made effective for harm, and are, as

ingredients of confusion, feebleness and disaster, by our own home agencies, thoroughly kneaded into the franchised body of the self-governing—the bitterness of the social cup which we are compelling ourselves and our posterity to drink, becomes enhanced and undeniable.

All we have here said thus far, is simply the arranging in detail of what perils come to the Republic from the single source of its inflowing tide of foreign immigrants. Not a whit of all this peril is capable of being averted by science-guided human foresight—it is all necessary and unavoidable—except in the two particulars in which the necessary evil is enhanced, first by our not imposing any adequate term of naturalization; and second, by the action of our parasitical fungus on the body politic, the dual political party.

We will now look in another quarter and inquire into the intrinsic perils of transition, apart from any continuous influx of social material from an unfavorable source. Suppose an adequate amount of population already present in the Republic, and suppose also, that naturally inimical and hostile monarchies have already come to the conclusion that, so far as war-producing quarrels are concerned, it is best for themselves to leave the affairs of the Republic uninterfered with.

What we have here to investigate are the intrinsic

perils of the transition state. What is the transition state? It is the anomalous predicament in which organic society finds itself involved, while still preserving organic existence, but, moved by the impetus of Racial development, rids itself gradually of everything peculiar to its previous type of organic order, and puts on as gradually the peculiarities of a novel type of organization inimical to that which till then it had borne.

Here then is social death — desuetude, senile decay, demise, and the gradual eliminating of effete material — and that too throughout every fiber of organic society. Herein is peril of the first magnitude, feebleness, distress, and the cumbering of dead material, in every part, and throughout the protracted process of the exchange of organic systems.

This senile feebleness and decay in the outgoing organization is coterporized by the feebleness of the incipency of everything pertaining to the new organism. The old declines and dies, and is eliminated gradually till it is all gone, while the new springs up in doubting feebleness, and gradually strengthens and expands till it is able at length to fully occupy the place made vacant by the gradual disappearing of the old organism. No perfect parallel to the change is found throughout material nature. The volume of the material organized remains the same, and at no point

is found to be entirely unorganized. And yet the organization of the old (monarchical) type gradually but entirely disappears, and organization of the novel (non-monarchical) type as gradually takes its place. Perhaps the change of the caterpillar to the butterfly is the most perfect parallel which material nature supplies to us with which to compare the great transition now current in organized society.

The whole of human society, so far as heard from, appears to have become to some extent involved in the transition. Dictatorial authority in every sphere of life appears to be mysteriously weakening and crumbling, throughout the earth. But the American Republic, in the civil sphere, leads the advance in change.

The American Republic has been brought into existence and has been operated thus far more by instinct, or the undiscovered forces of Racial development, impelling to depart from despotism, than by any intelligent design founded on the fact, the nature, the origin, or the necessary termination of the Racial transition which the Founders of that Republic initiated in the civil sphere.

Whether society is a mere human contrivance or a vital organic growth; and, if a vital organic growth, whether its origin was one or many; and, if its origin was a single organized society, when, where, why, and

how it came into the state of dissevered, organized and warring fractions in which it presents itself in history? Whether the condition of dissevered, organic, warring fractions in which society presents itself in history is a normal or an abnormal, a terminable or an interminable condition? And, if terminable, when, where, by what agency and with what results this terminating of disseverment is to be brought about? Whether the American Republic was itself, in its organic nature, and in the irresistible developings of its destiny, a dissevered fraction of society, or an organic embryo that would never cease to expand till the whole human race should be included within its warless, classless limits? These and other kindred inquiries were, at the founding of the American Republic, left—and thus far in the operating of that Republic have been left—for experience to answer, while science (the science of society) should discover, identify and arrange the answers, as gradually and fragmentarily these answers should become discernible among the mingled records of transitional experience.

Experience has now been at work upon the American Republic for about a century. It is time for science to come in, ignoring all that transpires in the realm of personality and volition, to interpret, classify and record the results which experience has evolved, bearing

on the above important inquiries. In doing this, it becomes apparent that society is a vital organic growth; that it was originally an organic unit, contained within the limits of a single family; that the dissevered and warring condition in which it has existed during the historic era is abnormal to its nature, a condition imposed upon it from without to provide against worse evils likely or certain to come upon it from within, and that this condition of disseverment and war is terminable, by being outgrown in the progress of Racial development; that this abnormal condition began conspicuously to terminate in the ecclesiastical sphere at about the close of the fourteenth christian century, and in the civil sphere near two centuries later in the founding of the American Republic; that this Republic has not the qualities requisite to international disseverment, war and class distinctions, but in the essence of its organism and of its organic type is Racial and not national, and is destined eventually to absorb the whole of human society within its peaceful limits.

These results place the current decade somewhere midway in the epoch of transition, and designate the American Republic as the foremost portion of the human race in passing through the transition; or, to use more exact terms, in undergoing the transition process. The American Republic, without a predeces-

sor pioneers the Race in its progress through the transition, and must supply the benefits of its experience and a helping hand (prompted by a return of long-dissevered Racial sympathies), to all who shall come after. A high and noble position is this for the American Republic to be placed in, and a very noble service is this to be performed by this Republic. But neither is the place to be filled, or the service performed without the most eminent peril, arising from the decay of the old-time organization, and the delay and uncertainty of the new organic order coming in to fill the vacated space, and estop the process from running into utter social decay and disorganization.

A very smooth and beautiful theory, this; but where is the tangible verity which it explains? Right here. Monarchy had a civil Throne which, whatever errors or crimes its occupant might commit, depended for its existence on its efficiency in suppressing the crimes of others, and protecting the public welfare from all encroachments but its own. As Transition advances the Throne of Monarchy becomes extinct. Sovereignty passes into the hands of the People, the Many; the thieves, burglars and murderers receive their share. Who now is to make laws or enforce them? The most active, the most artful, the most persistent, the least scrupulous. How are they to do

it? By conspiring together as in Tammany Hall a few years ago with Tweed and Connolly at their head, first, to vote falsely; second, to stuff ballot-boxes; third, to falsify election returns; fourth, to fraudulently naturalize foreigners to vote as dictated; fifth, to hire the Papists in a body, under the orders of their Priests to vote as desired, and pay them in donations of public money and property by the million dollars per annum appropriated to Papal institutions; sixth, to purloin the public treasure to any required amount for bribing legislation.* The Legal Profession in the American Republic is a vast, everywhere-distributed guild of the most learned and trained and talented men in the Republic; who live and thrive, and lead the field in the race for wealth, by selling their services to any one who will pay them to subvert the ends of justice in the courts of Law, or betray the wel-

* The following specimens of current news are from a single issue of a New York daily coming to hand as we write:

THE MORALS OF LOBBYING.

CHIEF JUDGE DALY ON THE HUMILIATING CORRUPTNESS OF MODERN LEGISLATION.

Charles P. Shaw's suit against David Babcock for \$11,000, part of \$18,000 which Shaw claims for services in getting a claim of \$65,000 through the legislature, was summed up yesterday. Chief Judge Daly charged the jury, telling them that though a contingent contract to influence the legislature or have an act passed by the legislature was invalid, yet a contract such as this purported to have been, to go before a committee of the legislature and represent the advantages of an act, was not illegal even where the compensation was made contingent on success. If, however, the jury found that the contract was for more than this then it was void. In the course of his charge he noted the fact that three of the state senators, Mattoon, Williams, and Creamer, were employed, not as senators, to influence

fare of the community in the halls of Legislation; and no man who has his living to earn in an honest calling can be any match for their sagacity, their dexterity in law, or their audacious boldness. All the judgeships have, of necessity, (at the present stage of the Transition) to be filled from their ranks, so that they enjoy a perfect monopoly of processes and results of litigation, and dispose of the same at their own price.

Now, what says the science of society of these current phenomena? This, namely: The Throne of monarchy is gone; it has decayed and gone down, out of sight; it is no longer here with its swift and ready vindications to take reparation out of all who conspire or contrive to defeat the claims of justice or the public weal. *And all that much of organic order which depended for its vindication on the civil Throne is decaying after it.*

Tweed and Connolly, and in commenting on the very large sum of \$18,000 out of \$65,000 which was claimed in this suit, said:

"One of three things is implied; that legislation has become impracticable, exceedingly difficult, or enormously corrupt. One of these three consequences would seem to be indicated in the ordinary management of public affairs. I have said in this case what is very unusual for a judge to say, and unusual for me, but I could not rise, whatever disposition may be made of this case, and not express my moral sense of it. Whatever may be the ultimate verdict, I should feel unfit for the discharge of public duty, in view of the importance of government, order, honesty, and law in a free country, if I did not give utterance to the impression made on me by the facts of this case."

After the jury had been out for some time his honor ordered a sealed verdict.

THE CENTENNIAL BILL IN THE HOUSE.—The appropriation bill for the Philadelphia symposium of 1876, is to be revived in the house, and is made a special order

But does Non-Monarchical organization provide no substitute for the vindicative action of the civil Throne? No! It has not done so as yet—experience proves that it has not—in the American Republic. The Sovereignty which in the old-time organization resided in the civil Throne, and from which proceeded all the needed vindications of public justice and the public weal, now resides in the hands of the many—the hands of the People themselves. *But the People stand hopelessly frustrated in all effort, design, or desire, to put forth in behalf of justice and the common welfare in their Non-Monarchical system the vindicative action that proceeded from the civil Throne.* But the American Republic and the non-monarchical system of which it is the sole embodiment, are yet imperfect. Are yet in embryo. Both are tardy in coming to maturity. And streaks of gangrene are consequently visible in

for May 5. The confederates of this plotting to rob the treasury, in an unlimited sum by an initial gratuity of \$3,000,000. are happy in the decisive vote by which the bill was assigned.

And now D— has had his say, and what does it amount to? Instead of being a denial or a defense it is a confession. He disputes nothing except the amount which he received. *But he admits that while district attorney of the United States he received, put into his pocket, and retained to his own use, a fee paid to him by a person indicted, for entering a nolle prosequi as to the charge against the said person in the indictment.*

James H. Piles, the negro chancellor of Sardis, Miss., who was appointed to that important and honorable office by Governor Ames, is in jail for larceny. Piles owes his downfall to an effort to become learned in the law, of the elementary principles of which he was blissfully ignorant when placed by Ames on the bench of his district. For months past the lawyers of Sardis had been missing books for

material to be organized by these—the material from the organizing of which Monarchical order, at least its vindictory throne, has decayed away. What provision against this perilous defect Non-Monarchical organization as a Type, and the American Republic as the sole embodiment of that type, will proceed to supply themselves with as they develop and mature, remains to be seen.

How are the People of the American Republic frustrated of their action, their purpose, their very desire, to vindicate the ends of justice and the discernible prerequisites of the public welfare? This is an intensely practical inquiry and of the highest moment. For its answer apply to the Tweeds and Connollies of the New York, Philadelphia, and Washington plundering rings. They have not the intelligence to give a scientific answer; but they know by heart the steps in detail

which they had very little use while arguing before Piles. Two of them named Miller became convinced that the chancellor was the thief. They went to his house and obtained access to his book-case. The missing volumes were found, the owners' names having been erased, and "J. H. Piles" pasted over them. A search warrant was obtained, and a number of books belonging to other lawyers of Sardis were found in the chancellor's house. Piles was convicted of larceny.

The Helena (Montana) *Independent* gives some information regarding the removal from office of Special United States District Attorney Clagett, already noticed, which throws additional light upon this incident of Grant's zealous prosecution of the civil service reform. The outrageous frauds which have been perpetrated upon the government and the Indians at the different Indian agencies in Montana have long been notorious. "Men appointed to these agencies," says the *Independent*, "have gone to their posts so poor that they could scarcely buy themselves a breakfast. They have lived extravagantly while they held office, and have retired after a few months' service, not with a bare competence, but actually

from which that scientific answer might be deduced. Ask the Credit Mobilier of the Pacific Railroad and the Congressmen who handled its polluted shares; ask the manipulators of a similar institution at the California end of the same road; ask the affluent contractors and colluding officials of the Indian ring how the popular desire, purpose and action to vindicate the ends of justice and the prerequisites of public welfare are permanently frustrated; ask the members of the United States Senate, who have bought their seats in that body with gold, or won them by their proficiency in the foul gambling of political chicanery; ask the ex-members and the present members of the state and national Legislatures; ask the lawyers, one and all; ask the office-holders and the office-seekers; ask the rank and file of the dual political party organizations how the sovereign People of the Republic are frustrated of

rolling in wealth"—all upon salaries of \$1,500 per annum. The scandal created by these frauds became so great that it was considered necessary to have a pretense of an investigation supplemented by a whitewashing report, and as the impression prevailed in Washington that Mr. Clagett owed his election as delegate to Congress to the Indian ring he was selected to do the job, and received an appointment as special district attorney. Mr. Clagett, however, proceeded to do the work he was ordered to do in good faith, instead of permitting himself to be made a tool for the concealment of crime, and in the face of many difficulties succeeded in unearthing proofs of the corruption which pervaded the management of Indian affairs in the Territory, the result of which was the indictment of several conspicuous offenders who were in the service of the government. This was more than had been bargained for, and the appointment of Mr. Clagett was at once revoked, which is regarded in Montana as practically striking from the calendar the pending cases and a direct encouragement to fraud and speculation. The Rev. Major Ensign, a brother-in-law of Grant's intimate friend the Rev.

all effective desire to vindicate the defeated ends of justice and the subverted requisites of the public welfare. There is not one of the millions thus referred to that could not fill a volume with the information asked, and multitudes of them would have to write their whole biography in doing justice to the subject. The grandest study of the human mind, in the American Republic, would seem to be how to subvert the claims of justice, and make some personal or party gain by selling the public welfare.

Against all this frightful peril and decay, this threatened aborting—not only of the American Republic but even of the Non-Monarchical Type of organic social order which it embodies—it devolves upon the Science of Society—even in its earliest embryo—to outline the remedy.

The suggestion of science in the premises is, not to fall back on Monarchical expedients. Attempt not to

Dr. Newman, is one of the persons against whom indictments were found, a fact which probably had some influence in bringing Mr. Clagett's official career to a sudden close.

The *Sacramento Union* points out that Page, the congressman from that district, has clearly been guilty of a misdemeanor in holding a contract with the post-office department to carry the United States mails. An act passed April 21, 1808, provides that no member of congress shall directly or indirectly undertake, execute, hold, or enjoy any contract or agreement with any officer of the United States, in their behalf, or with any person authorized to make contracts on the part of the United States. The words "hold or enjoy" are omitted from the penal clause of the act, so that a person who, like Page, had made a contract before election to congress may escape the penalty of \$3,000 fine. This omission is evidently an oversight (or otherwise).

raise the dead. Abandon History and its effete instructings. Keep the Non-Monarchical Type and its American embodiment pure as possible, and urge them both on their way to mature development.

All the above depicted present or threatened evils of the Republic result from a single cause, the tardy developing of personal qualities of self-government — result from the tardy developing of individual Raciality, of personal non-disseverment, of those personal faculties and tastes which incline and enable their possessor worthily to perform his part as a franchised member of a Non-Monarchically self-governing community.*

Were it not that individual constituents of the Republic delegated, or allowed miscreants to usurp their governmental functions and responsibilities, the above depicted abuses, or any approach to them, could never occur. And this defect in individual fitness for self-government it is the high aim and peculiar function of the Grange to obviate.

Something of the relation of pupil and instructor is indispensable to human society, where minors are pre-

* "Manhood" and "common sense" are current terms in which to speak of this peculiar Republican quality of individual character. And those who possess it understand the modern idea which these ancient words are latterly intended to convey. But it is a manhood and a common sense which had no existence till produced by the discipline and the experiences of self-governing society. And now the monarch-ridden mind can have no adequate conception of what it is.

sent. Perhaps something of the permanent relation of leader and led is indispensable to human society. But the genius and the necessity of Non-Monarchical organization is to reduce this relation, and the number of those who practice on it, to its minimum. In this its natural action and necessity the Republic is strongly seconded by the Grange.

The curse of overabounding leadership manifests itself particularly among a people just escaped from the sway of Kingship. The Grange obviates this in amount, and also tends to retain a people under their natural leaders—under the most able, best known and honest who are identified with each people, and thus defend them from the curse of curses, the leadership of scamps and aliens who have not grown up in identification with the community whom they seek to lead, but foist themselves into the desired position by artifice and effrontery.

It will be noticed that, whereas we claim to be pursuing scientific investigation within the realm of Uniform Law, and outside the range of volition and personality, yet we bring down the results of this investigation and make very practical use of these results within the realm of voluntary action and of personal responsibility. Of course we do this. Such is the only practical aim and usage of all Science. With-

out this utilization of its results, a science is but a blank, uninteresting abstraction, almost unworthy of pursuit, except it be as affording a field for the gymnastic training of one's mental powers.

The Science of Society, we presume, must be pre-eminently an applied science. And yet, in order to place it within the category of the Sciences at all, and to retain it there, it is indispensable to keep the boundary between the realm of Uniform Law, and the realm of personality, volition and responsibility, distinctly in view — that boundary divides the reign of natural Law from the reign of moral Law. And both Society and the individual man have large cotemporaneous existence in both these realms. Yet the Science of Society, is and must be a pure Science, its investigations must be pursued and its results evoked within the calm impersonal realm of uniform Law; Law, the utterances of which no scientist is at liberty to add to, or to take from. Like Balaam, the son of Beor, the scientist must deliver the message that is given him, without attempting to make it either more or less. And praise or blame from him to others, or from others to him, has no place in the premises.

CHAPTER XII.

THE GRANGE A NECESSITY; AND ITS REQUISITES DEFINED.

Non-disseverability is an ingredient in the complex whole of Non-Monarchical character. Non-Monarchical character, both personal, and as pertaining to the community, is a natural and spontaneous product of Racial Development; but needs to be intelligently and voluntarily cultivated.

The People of the American Republic lead the advance of the Race in passing through the Transition from Monarchical to Non-Monarchical organization, and hence, present the maturest specimen of Non-Monarchical character. They have become so far perfected in Non-Monarchical character as to be non-disseverable into warring fractions, like the nations of History; but not so far perfected in that direction as to become non-adjustible into the dual political parties, of which the one party is the natural and necessary antagonist of the other.

A farther advance in the same direction—a more mature acting of Racial Development on the American People—a more mature attainment of Non-Monarchi-

cal character—is now about to place the American People in a condition in which they can no longer be organized into the dual political party, but from the natural progress of society, *must* organize in the Grange. (See Appendix F.)

By the natural progress of society, we here mean that advancement by which Racial Society—the Human Race viewed in its social aspect—under the impetus of Racial Development, is passing from the feebleness and immaturity of its infancy toward the perfection of its prime. In which perfection Monarchy, disseverability, liability to war, class distinctions, and even susceptibility to being permanently divided against itself in the organisms of dual politics *will have become outgrown*.

The greatest want of the American Republic at its present stage of advancement in the process of Transition is, first, some demarcation of *principles* between what is, and what is not, inimical to the Public Welfare; and, second, a demarcation between the *persons* whose aims and actions are, and those whose aims and actions are not, inimical to the Public Welfare.

Now, the instituting of this indispensable duplex demarcation of necessity devolves on the Sovereign, at first hand. This, in the Republic, is the People. (We

assume that the Government is to be Republican, and not Monarchical.)

The attempt or pretense to govern, even in a Republic, without such demarcation, is insane. To trust to the popular instincts of the hour to supply the demarcation, is to court confusion, to adjure consistency and all the advantages of settled or continuous policy, and to win disaster.

Science must point out the demarcation as definitely as it can be done on a basis of indisputable principles—and the majority will of the People must adopt it. Bald ruin, more or less complete, lurks in anything less definite, less decisive, less permanent.

Is not this drawing of a demarcation between what is and what is not inimical to the Public Welfare, already attempted and supposed to be accomplished in our civil Legislation?

That is the supposition. What is the fact?

The fact of History is that our legislation is a blind and stolid imitation of the legislation of Monarchy, modified by adapting it to the novel necessities of the Republic accidentally in the particulars occasionally presenting, where its incongruousness with the Republic would be absolutely unendurable if unmodified.

And in conducting the modified and the unmodified imitation of Monarchical Law-making, which consti-

tutes our current Legislation, the intelligent and right-minded portion of our voting population are mixed with, are overslaughed and taken at a disadvantage and counteracted and neutralized by the ignorant, mindless, ill-minded or misguided, even the corrupt, the evil intending and the criminal portion of that voting population.

What is worse than this that we have stated, the evil-minded portion of the voting whole of the American population collude together, combine and organize to defeat the scattered, disconcerted, and utterly inorganic right-minded portion in their action through Legislation to achieve the Public Welfare. There is the intensely subordinated Papacy, under a solitary head, with intensely acute perceptions of its own aims and interests (all demonstrably inimical to non-monarchical society) with its subordinated voters by the tens and hundreds of thousands, ready to trade its solid support to the demagogue who will officially donate the public gold or betray the Public Welfare to purchase that support.*

There are the shoddy snob, the hereditary aristocrat and the millionaire, naturally colluding to defeat, and, with their inordinate and needless accumulations of

* "Roman Catholics in Wisconsin are leaving the Granges, the Bishop of Milwaukee having issued a pastoral against them." Morning paper.

wealth and our venal legislators, able to defeat the fundamental requisites of Republican classlessness.

There are the speculators and middlemen of commerce, from the gold and grain and stock gamblers of our great cities, down to the seller of bad meats and swill-milk, and the falsifier of retail weights and measures, all held together by an intense community of aims to countervail the efforts of such as desire to achieve the Public Welfare. Take out for a specimen a single guild of these speculative middlemen, the Liquor dealers. Their business confessedly damages the Public Welfare more than all other malign avoidable agencies combined, and they collect annually *\$616,000,000, of which, from one-half to nine-tenths, is retailers' or middlemen's profits. In the proportion in which in their business, they are consciously inimical to the Public Welfare; in that proportion are they under a felt external pressure to combine. And with the above enormous cash income at their disposal, and paid to them as a premium on their malevolent activity, they are so distributed throughout the population, so positioned, and put in contact with those they need to influence, and so largely unemployed, as

National Temperance Almanac, 1874:

* U. S. tax collected in 1872, on homemade spirits, \$49,475,516.36; retail value, \$317,000,000. Beer, \$473,498.46; retail value, \$222,000,000. Imported, \$; retail value, \$165,000,000.

to have the greatest possible facilities, as well as motives, for influencing the vote of the mindless and the non-intelligent and the evil minded.

There is the Legal Profession as a guild, having an exclusive monopoly of handling the Law after it is made, and distributing its decisions, each one for his personal benefit ; and who have an exceptionally large share of influence in Legislation, and baldly ready to sell their services to the highest bidder.

Last, and perhaps least, we mention the carrying monopolists, who claim to make railroads an agency in their hands of taxing producers and consumers, commerce and travel at discretion, for their personal emolument and to obtain funds for the purchasing of such legislation as they desire.

In view of all this array of combined and more or less consolidated and organic antagonism to the Public Welfare, what does Science say? One thing. Namely: The mutual recognition, the organic defining and combining of the Friends of the Public Welfare, is obviously indispensable to the achieving of that Welfare with any certain success or uniformity, obviously indispensable to placing the Public Welfare on any prospective basis better than that of simple luck and chance ; or even on a basis in which the adverse chances do not obviously predominate.

But is it not a first condition precedent of all Non-Monarchical government that every one — every adult male citizen at least — has an equal franchise? Allow that it is. And yet the question whether crime and ignorance, and the demonstrable enemy of the Public Good, should not be discriminated against, is a question that will bear examining. But suppose it indispensable to Republican order that every male citizen must have an equal vote, the analysis of current facts informs us that — especially in this day of the great developing of man's organizing faculties, as evinced in the rings, the political party collusions, and the organized frauds of modern politics — almost all governmental measures are determined in the field of voluntary organization that is traveled over by the individual before the civil Poll is reached, or the responsible ballot cast. And if the real Friends of the Public Welfare (there are such —, Racial Development has produced them in no meager numbers, though they are modest and in the back ground — men who aspire not to enhance their private possessions beyond what the Public Welfare allows) are to exert an influence in the civil Republic proportioned to their strength of numbers — if they are not perpetually to be overslaughed by brazen villainy leading the shackled masses — they must recognize one another and combine in the volun-

tary field that lies between the voter and the polls. Necessity is laid upon them. They must abandon the governing function to the depraved, or—outside the realm of personal praise or blame, in the quiet atmosphere of uniform Law—they must define the permanently definable prerequisites of the Public Welfare and organize to stand inexorably upon these in all their governmental action.

It is not needful that the Friends of the Public Welfare should clothe themselves with any dictatorial authority, or in any way violate the essential conditions of Society Non-Monarchically organic. But it is necessary that they stand voluntarily but permanently organized, on the permanently definable prerequisites of the Public Welfare, in such wise that the opposers of these requisites will be left standing by themselves, and that all may know beforehand how the organized Friends of the Public Welfare will act in all cases in which these principles are clearly involved.

All this does not involve any one's religion; or the abridgment of his liberties. It does not amount to a religion. It may be mere philosophy guiding selfish motives to their most perfect accomplishment. Albeit the selfishness cannot be of the old fighting dissevered type, such as was produced in the individual bosom by participation in the war feeling of international dissev-

erment. This selfishness, if selfishness it be, that is consistent with a hearty pledge to conserve the Public Welfare, is a selfishness which admits the individual's own highest welfare to be entirely cognate and compatible with, and even dependent on, the greatest good to the whole community. It is a selfishness that antagonizes disservice.

All this that we propose as the remedy for existing and prospective evils in the Republic involves no one's religion. It does, however, involve a sharp discrimination between what is really and appropriately religion, from a priestly cabal that takes upon itself to dictate (as the Pope is now attempting to dictate in Germany), what shall and what shall not, be the action of the civil government.

There must be, at the present stage of progress in Transition, a permanent and persistent organizing of the Friends of the Public Welfare, founded upon philosophically defined and indisputably admitted and permanent principles of Non-Monarchical order, thereby throwing the enemies of the Public Welfare (those who confessedly would sacrifice that welfare to their personal aims) into unclouded light, and into unmistakable responsibility for the deeds which they perform and for the pernicious principles which they advocate. And this permanent and persistent organizing of the

Friends of the Public Welfare must be anterior to and preparatory for their final and direct action at the Polls. Nothing else can defend them from the machinations of the combined and organized men who would sacrifice the Public Welfare to their private aims. Nothing else will secure to the Friends of the Public Welfare an influence commensurate with their strength. The multiplicity of Trades Unions, Eleemosynary Societies, and like voluntary organizations that have sprung into existence as Monarchy declined, have given to the majority of minds a previous training for this work.*

But would not the men who would sacrifice the Public Welfare to their personal, class, and party aims, with the din of their immediatism, and their disputable principles and practices confuse, obscure, out-general, and defeat in all present results the slow-moving progress and far-reaching aims of the philosophical contenders for the Public Well-being Non-Monarchically achieved? They might, at first, but not in the long run.

The Grange, as we have presented it, will produce specimens of reliable character, by creating (something that does not now exist), a support on which such character can fall back and be sustained in its conflicts with

* See Appendix "A."

fraudmongering immediatism. The present maladies of the Republic are not prevalent because there are no men of pure character in it; but because men of character are snubbed, and overslaughed, and driven into obscurity by triumphant fraud. Pot-house loafers, "plug-uglies," burglars, garoters, pickpockets and ruffians of every ilk are kept on hand protected and pecuniarily provided for by thousands by the leading politicians of the dual parties for this specific purpose of driving men of character out of politics.* The Grange presents the only discoverable agency for their restoration, by presenting a permanent and reliable groundwork on which they may exercise and become visible and potent.

Men of previous character, pressed by stringent necessity, go into the politics of the dual party. But they pay the inevitable forfeit of the individual atom that becomes incorporated into a villainous organism. It suddenly and inevitably loses its previous vitality, and becomes instinct only with the life and interests and motives that previously ruled the organism with which it has consented to become identified. This is a philosophical expression of natural Law; and it never

* A political system founded on this principle, has made New York city what it is. While its vast marine is manned by foreigners, the 2,600 policemen report the presence of 20,000 persons who live by imposition, to say nothing of the hundreds who are eminent in the calendar of crime. And New York, in these respects, probably differs from other cities of the Union only in degree.

contradicts itself. Its mode of operating has been elsewhere detailed.*

The general and permanent organization of the Grange, as above presented, will create a permanent accountability not before more than transiently or accidentally felt in the Republic — the accountability of the representative to his constituency. The representative elected by one limb of the dual party, is practically accountable only to his confederates in a conspiracy to betray the Public Welfare. Transiently and accidentally it may be otherwise. But ordinarily the only needful cause of solicitude to the elected partisan, is, whether, in the present term he can sell his trust for sufficient profit to himself to avoid occasion for re-election. And if not, how so to manipulate the party following as to procure that re-election.†

Swift and sure expulsion from the Grange must be prospectively certain to befall every elected Granger who belies his principles or betrays his trust.

To facilitate this, the Grange must have no eleemosynary feature, nor hold any property other than possibly the simplest kind of a meeting-place.

The Grange being a permanent, respectable and re-

* In previously written works of the present author.

† Justice requires the admission that men are sometimes elected whose worst fault is that their partyism, as a parasite, has eaten up their patriotism. But the cool unmitigated thief, whose partyism is sheer affectation, will, by virtue of his coolness, be the natural leader of such.

liable organization, its expulsion of a member for falsifying his obligation of membership, will be enough of dictation, enough of penalty. The regeneration of politics will ensue, gradually, it may be, but infallibly.

How is the Grange to come into existence?

Where the "Patrons of Husbandry" already have organizations, their modification so as to include all the friends of the Public Welfare, and to exclude all besides, will be a natural and feasible process. Where this modification does not take place, the original organizing of the Friends of the Public Welfare must be initiated.

Where the Patrons of Husbandry have no organization, or even no representation, and where they do exist, but delay to act in this line, that individual who possesses the intelligence and appreciates the necessity of acting, must look out another like-minded man among his neighbors, and they two must take the pledge, never, knowingly, to sacrifice or deliberately imperil the Public Welfare by their acts or uttered sentiments; and to hold each other responsible for the faithful performance of this pledge.

Then find a third, and if, may be a fourth, and so on initiating each and expelling any who prove unworthy.*

* They might have for a motto : In what is requisite to the Public Welfare,—No compromise; In what is honestly questionable — No dictation.

Officers, stated meetings, pass-words, perhaps, and possibly a brief and simple ritual will be needful as the Grange enlarges.

The details of what the above pledge includes, it must be the personal and associate labor of every Granger to evolve.

Grangers, when formed, must recognize each other ; refusing for cause to recognize the unworthy.

County, State and National, and eventually International Granges, can be formed by delegations from local Granges to meet annually or occasionally, with or without permanent organization ; a rate of representation being agreed upon ; but all the action of such superior grade organization, should probably be subject to local Grange approval before becoming binding.

No man of learning or character in any walk of life, can reasonably excuse himself from taking part in an organization of this kind ; if his hands and purposes are clean of transactions that would violate the pledge.

As the writer closes this paper, the three following extracts meet his eye in the current numbers of three several newspapers. They are quoted as evidence of the general sense of the current state of American Politics. Each of the three writers quoted appears to be unconsciously anticipating that at no distant day the American Republic will dissolve into anarchy. It is the decay incident to Transition which

they see. But without inexorable, science-guided organic action on the part of the existing Friends of the Public Welfare, within the realm of volition and personality, to perfect the Non-Monarchical civilization, as in the Grange above presented, the responsibilities of possible abortion rest upon the advocates of Free government:

"I am generally cheerful and more hopeful than when I was young. And certainly there is need of hope, aside from personal considerations, when the affairs of the country are conducted with so little wisdom, and when political corruption seems to become more and more rampant."

[Published extract from private letter of Ex-president Woolsey, of Yale College.]

"The Legislature adjourned amid a tremendous blast of trumpets by its two presiding officers. If we are to believe Lieut.-Gov. Robinson and Speaker Husted, this is not only the purest and ablest Legislature New York ever saw, but in wisdom, industry, and righteousness, it is the equal of any assemblage ever convened on this continent.

We swallow this with several grains of allowance. The flourish with which the Legislature went out is only equaled by the flourish with which it came in; and, we think, when its transactions are seen in the light of the one or two thousand pages of the statute book, it will appear that the actual performance has not quite met the promise of the manifesto, and thus,

at best, the people of the State will have to congratulate themselves upon what they have escaped rather than upon what they have obtained.

We do not forget that in the inaugural address of the Speaker we were to have a session limited to one hundred days, an early introduction of the appropriation bills, and especially of that cesspool of jobbery, the Supply Bill, so as to afford ample time for examination by the Senate and Assembly, and by the Governor; while everybody was to set his face like a flint against hasty legislation and all sorts of venal schemes. Our excellent Governor too, in his annual message, gave the Legislature some sound advice in the same vein, and warned it to steer clear of the lobby, and be sure and send him the appropriation bills, and especially the Supply Bill, as soon as possible, so that he could have an opportunity to carefully consider the thing before the adjournment.

The new members both of the Legislature and the lobby looked rather grave when they heard the address of the Speaker; but the old stagers, who knew the Bald Eagle, put their thumbs to their noses as they thought they detected the faintest semblance of a wink in the corner of one of his sparkling black eyes. The Legislature listened with respect to the discourse of the venerable Governor, and pronounced it sound; while the Republicans lifted up their voices and blessed their stars that they were not sinners like the Democrats of the old Hoffman-Tweed *regime*. But the lobby, with A. D. Barber at their head, as they walked

down Capitol Hill, talking over the market value of "chin music" at former sessions, whispered in chorus, "this is all buncombe."

Well, the session has come and gone ; and instead of adjourning at the close of the hundred days the Legislature sat nearly twenty more, into which it tumbled pretty much all its important business, transacting it in the usual pell-mell style, and throwing the Supply Bill and a back load of other bills into the Executive Chamber as Senators and Assemblymen rushed down stairs on the way to the railway depots to ride home on dead-head tickets.

One of the worst features of the session was the character of the lobby. It was not confined to the old disreputable hacks whom Barber & Co. have so long led. In its early stages, and onward to the end, Comptroller Green and Commissioner Van Nort were there in person or by attorney. As the contest grew sharp toward the close, the Collector of the Port, the Surveyor, the Naval Officer, and others of the Federal cohort appeared on the ground. There is not a man with a grain of sense in the State who does not know that large numbers of these Senators and Assemblymen were not kept in Albany twenty days after their pay ceased by mere considerations of patriotism. Those twenty days formed the period when jobbery and corruption held high carnival. These slippery legislators, with their pals and benefactors in the lobby, stayed to make money out of venal schemes. How much they got nobody will ever be able to prove. All that we do

know is, that these city and Federal officeholders ought to have been here in New York attending to their appropriate duties.

There is only one remedy for all this. It is not to be found in amendments to the Constitution, nor in a change of parties. Both have been tried and found insufficient. The true remedy is to place in office, and especially in legislative bodies, an entirely new class of men. The remedy is with the people. If they are too supine to make the trial, they must endure the evil with such patience as they can."—[*N. Y. Sun.*]

"HIGH SALARIES.

"High salaries to officials operate as a permanent organized war upon Republican institutions. They become prizes for the sordid and corrupt who become rich from legal and illegal perquisites of office. Attract sordid men to office as a money-making business, and the result is that with such all the offices are filled. The grabbers will use corrupt means to get the offices, and to keep them, and make them more profitable after they are obtained. They are regularly purchased in the political caucuses and conventions, and furnish the funds with which the suffrage is demoralized and the worst of persons secure permanent political control. What is official soon becomes the vogue and is fashionable, and the community is brutalized and sees fraud and overreaching in the most influential positions without a shock or an outbreak. The manipulation of public sentiment to keep the spoilers in power becomes

a regular business. To buy presses, who aid in deceiving the people, is a part of the machinery. While corruption is thus organized and paid for out of the people's money, there is no reliable and efficient organization whatever against it, the only permanent organizations are the mere partisan political ones racing with each other for the spoils, and each unscrupulously using corrupt means to obtain them. Keep salaries down, if you would raise virtue and public spirit up. Let no sordid soul be encouraged in his appetite for public office. Let all see in such a one a public curse, a breeder of oppressive taxation and demoralization. The best men will serve the country best and most economically, and for the reward of honor and gratitude, if the public will only attend to its own business and seek out such men. Tempt not corrupt and sordid men with high salaries, and an easy path to riches through corruption, unless you seek the absolute ruin of your country and its institutions."

This additional article from the same paper, and apparently from the same pen as the last, characteristically exhibits the way in which the better portion of the public mind, in conscious peril, like a prostrate vine, is putting out its tendrils to grasp a support that is not to be found. Its principles and its facts in contrast, as the same principles and similar facts stand contrasted throughout current American history, fitly express the futility of morality (shall we say also, of religion?) to relieve the peril of society that is organically awry."

"MORAL CAUSES.

Mr. Pierpont, in his address at Yale, stated a fact universally recognized, and yet, practically, as universally ignored and fruitless of results, viz., that the prosperity of nations depends upon moral causes.

This grand element of progress or decline is created by the aggregate of the action of individuals, each individual being, in fact, a "moral cause," tending to the prosperity or decline of the nation to which he belongs, according as his influence is good or evil.

We will do well to scrutinize our own conduct as well as that of our neighbors to determine as to the prevalence and activity of good moral causes.

If a man like Callender, appointed to scrutinize the conduct of the banks and protect the people from the consequences of their irregularities, drops down upon them and demands a loan as soon as he has discovered a point to their prejudice — is he a good moral cause?

If a bank president, thus approached, instead of repulsing Callender, loans him \$20,000 upon securities so worthless that he immediately charges the loan to profit and loss, is he a good moral cause?

If an ex-police commissioner, a jurymen, on the second trial of Callender for seeking and obtaining bribes, prevents a verdict where there is no dispute about facts, is he a good moral cause?

If a judge trying Oakey Hall says intent must be proved — and, trying Gardner and Charlick, says intent is inferred from the act — is he a good moral cause?"

It is plain we have an infinity of moral causes to deal with of a very questionable character. If we would have the country prosper, some means must be found to improve them."— [*Richmond County Gazette.*]

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE DISEASES OF THE REPUBLIC AND THEIR REMEDY.

Self-originating and self-organizing Granges, according to the method proposed in the preceding papers, are liable to come into existence in any number in one and the same locality, and to crowd, jostle and hinder one another. How will this liability to mischief be avoided? By concert and advisory action in a County or State Grange, or a grange of any convenient grade superior to the Local grange; if unification does not occur spontaneously from mutual concession, before a Grange of any superior grade hears of the case.

The only point essential to be guarded is, that such Grange of superior grade does not assume or exercise any dictating authority; but that unequivocal sovereignty over its own action, remain accorded to the Local Grange; subject only to the penalty of being disfellowshipped by other Granges for unworthy action.

If the Grange were to bear the responsibilities of civil government, and be compelled to include the whole voting community, the power of seceding would have

to be alienated from the Local Grange in order to confer on the State or national organization entire trustworthiness. At least, this would be obviously the case as long as other and non-associated governments remain to be dealt with; whatever the case may be when the Republic shall have come to include the whole Human Race in a single civil organization of the Non-Monarchical Type.

But since the Grange is to remain entirely within the sphere of voluntary association and action (and especially since in one aspect its grand aim is to cultivate self-reliant, independent, personally responsible character and ability in its individual member, in contrast to the feeble abjectness of the mind that has been immemorally incapacitated to act, except when under the dictation and guidance of superior authority), it is indispensable that the Local Grange do not alienate absolute sovereignty over its own activities. Otherwise the air and habit of obedience in which the Local Grange submits to be dictated to by a superior, will be insensibly but inevitably imparted to its individual member, and dictatorial civilization will be thereby re-initiated.

But besides and beneath all this necessary polity in the constructing of the Grange system — for there will and must be a general, a universal, a vitally or-

ganic and unified system of the Grange, compatible with the absolute sovereignty of the Local Grange — the quality of non-disseverability in the individual Granger and in the Grange he institutes, as well as the identity of aim and pledge in the several Granges liable to spring up in nearly the same locality, will prohibit their remaining disassociated rivals. Their doing so for one needless hour, would stamp one or both Granges so doing, as fundamentally destitute of the essential aim and character of a Grange, as we have viewed it.

It may appear superfluous for us to say more of what we have termed non-disseverability. But this is the place to remind the reader that no term has ever before been appropriated or used to designate that quality, the product of Racial development, by which universal fraternity is spontaneously taking the place of that spirit of war and conquest — the love of slaughter for slaughter's sake — which is depicted on early monuments, embodied in the gladiatorial show of later antiquity, and which stands emblazoned on History's every bloodstained page. It is this natural quality of non-disseverment, spontaneously presenting itself in Society, that has made universal Empire in post-pagan centuries impossible — that has abolished slave-holding and the Inquisition, that surprised Christendom by pro-

ducing Religious Toleration, and enforcing its acceptance even upon the Ottoman Empire, and Pagan and Papal lands. Non-disseverment, a quality innate, though hitherto latent in society, is that by virtue of which two men or two portions of Racial Society are no longer capable of being so dissevered from each other, that each shall spend all his or its resources of head and heart and hand, in attempting to destroy the other. And this quality of non-disseverability it is that, being present as a chief ingredient in Non-Monarchical society, and in individually Non-Monarchical character, will preclude all clashing and conflict among those who possess the prerequisites of forming a Grange.

The story of William Tell, whether myth or history, is vividly representative of a certain class of transactions, namely: those in which Racial development has brought a people to the point at which they are no longer capable of patiently submitting to the outrageous exactions of constituted or nomadic despotism, and yet the despot has not the prudence to forbear his insolence or his exactions.

Now, more or less transactions of this class are liable to occur in the process of Transition, in any given community. The vigilance committee that figures occasionally in the details of American History, is

nearly allied to this. It exhibits an outburst of the power and the will of the American People in a particular locality to govern themselves, when the constituted appliances of government prove inadequate or become obstructed.

One of the greatest hardships of the Transition occurs on this wise. Newly imported people of some energy or pecuniary means, or both, and some natives who have neither the instincts or the philosophic principles of Republicism to guide them, betake themselves to advancing their own selfish pecuniary or fancied class interests, according to the old-time estimate of the worth of these interests, and according to the old-time methods of operating for their achievement, namely: by availing themselves greedily of any advantage that may be in their possession or within their reach, enabling them to enrich or exalt themselves at the expense of others.

The people who do thus are practical Monarchists. It matters not how they regard themselves, or in what terms they describe themselves. They have never heartily consented to equality of condition,* or equality of privilege. They have never been by Racial development brought to the point at which they admit that their own highest individual welfare is cognate

* By equality of condition here we mean a high condition, but not higher than the highest to which all might be admitted.

and consistent with, and dependent on, the greatest good of the community non-monarchically achieved. On the contrary they regard themselves as so far dis-severed from their neighbors and the community (in respect to organic social oneness) that it is a real advantage to themselves to relatively depress, or even prey upon, their neighbors, and upon the community. And they accordingly proceed thus to take advantage of and relatively depress and prey upon their neighbors and upon the community as often as they (with perhaps a purchased lawyer to assist them) can discover an opportunity.

Now the civil and social frame-work of the Republic is constructed upon the assumption that much of mutual confidence and consenting equality of privilege, fraternal good will to each other and devotion to the common good, is to characterize its constituents. And hence this mutual confidence, especially the mutual confidence between the People and the Government, leaves a thousand points unguarded and a thousand contingencies unprovided for, that would be guarded and provided for in a Monarchical system — guarded and provided for by the jealousy of arbitrary power to defend and perpetuate itself, if not otherwise.

When, therefore, this stalwart specimen of monarchical disseverment (with an American attorney pur-

chased to assist him in planning some infernal scheme of pecuniary or other self-aggrandizement), the man who never conceived the idea of not assisting himself at his neighbor's expense as often as opportunity occurred, comes into the mutually confiding company of genuine Republicans, he is like an ass in a China-shop, or a wolf in a sheep-fold. He is not an immoral man. He does not violate the dictates of his conscience, the settled principles of his own life, or the traditions of his ancestors, when he proceeds to make mutton of the defenseless around him. He is only a man of one type of social order, transferred to another type of social order, without having undergone a corresponding change of personal character. His mould of character is cast upon the basis that what the King does not prohibit his doing under pain of being jailed, transported, or capitally executed without prevarication or delay; that he is at perfect liberty to do, for the advancing of his personal or family aggrandizement.

Of a sudden he finds himself in a community where there is no King. It is a jubilee for him. He can by the exercise of a little shrewdness have a law made for his own convenience (his attorney guiding him), and then he can take a hand in the execution of that law.*

*Current methods of accomplishing this result are these: (1) Have a law passed prohibiting what you intend to do, but having its penalty left out, or faultily enacted; this will allay suspicion and secure immunity. (2) Violate a law without

It is wonderful in his eyes to see that this People are not smart enough to look out for him. Their mutual confidence, which springs from and is essential to their non-monarchical type of civilization, he attributes to their stolidity, and goes on wrecking for number one.

Perhaps he becomes a millionaire, and holds in his solitary grasp a moiety of the whole resources of a great community. Perhaps he lays hold on some particular line of trade or travel, and (with his legal adviser to assist him in laying his plans) proceeds to tax the community (from whom he regards himself as sufficiently dissevered) at discretion, for his personal benefit. And with what aim? An aim that is born of monarchy. An aim that can have no possible realization in non-monarchical society. An aim that saps at its foundation every distinctive feature of non-monarchical society to that degree to which it succeeds, and brings distress and blight and mildew upon a non-monarchical people to that extent to which it is attempted. The aim is to found a kingdom, a principality, a lordly estate, that shall place its possessor and his posterity above toil, above anxiety, above

reserve, but conceal your crime, or postpone your trial, till you get the law repealed. Then no conviction takes place. (3) Insert a repealing clause in some bill where its real effect is not apparent. (4) Enact some new arrangement of jurisdiction, of courts or juries, that will annul the effect of your trial, while the formality of it appeases public indignation. The profuseness and heterogeneous character of modern Republican Legislation facilitate all these methods.

want, for ages to come, and make them famous, envied and bowed down to.

The change which is wrought in the tenure of accumulated wealth, in its durability and in its purchasing power, by the transition of society from its monarchical to its non-monarchical type, is one of the most important and most neglected themes of scientific inquiry; for the neglect of which the community suffers, and scholars are responsible.

Aside from taking away from class grade all its distinguishing power, and from accumulated wealth the principal part of all it was valued for in the bygone era, the transition of society from its monarchical to its non-monarchical type of organic order evaporates all that traditional reverence for usage, for the position of individuals, and for the customs of society, which has kept every person and thing in place during the monarchical era.

Napoleon I conquered Europe without a serious effort, and did it by virtue of his disacquaintance with, and disregard for, the usages and traditions by which European society was at that time moulded and governed.

Now, freedom from these usages and traditions is the peculiarity of non-monarchical society. That fraternal tolerance and mutual interest in each other's

welfare, which we have termed non-disseverability, supplies in non-monarchical society the place occupied in monarchical civilization by cowering obedience to usage, to custom, to tradition, to the authority of place.

And when Napoleon I, or any of the school of nomadic despots—despots without ancestors or posterity, with which they stand in any restraining connection—come to set at naught audaciously all the usages and traditional restraints which their cotemporaries are governed by, and make use each one of his own naked sagacity and force to found a nomad empire for himself, if they confine themselves each, as the Napoleons did in the main, to the soil and populations of monarchy, they shall do well.

But if, on the contrary, they come as thousands do come, and not a few rise originally up in the exposed bosom of the republic, there to pursue their conquests of wealth and power, irrespective of the wants, the wishes, or the woes of those on whose republican rights they trample; then and there the wonder is, that William Tells do not present themselves, in the name and for the sake of all that genuine republicans hold dear, to rid the community of its scourge, and that too by the shortest method.

One thing is certain, namely, this: As the transi-

tion advances, as it must inevitably advance, and as the servility of low-grade monarchists is more and more exchanged for the elastic qualities of freemen, there will be a clearer discrimination of what republican equality of privilege means, and there will be less patience to bear with those who, in their intoxicated pursuit of high-grade exaltation, set this equality at naught.

The security against a future era of prevalent bloodshed in the Republic, is not that a king or dictator is there, or can be placed there with soldiery to prohibit it. It is, first, that if war weapons were resorted to for a time or two in the name and for the sake of the Republic against an intrenched violator of its sacred interests, the occasion for the repetition of their use would soon be done away; or war for and against Republican order would ensue, as in the late secession.

The security is not that the most nefarious betrayals of public trust, and the most unscrupulous sacrifices of public interests are not of almost constant occurrence in the acts of state and national officials, and among the millionairing aspirants for rank in the aristocracy of wealth. (See Appendix B.) The security practically is that among the sufferers by such acts of nomadic despotism in the American Republic no man sees

the principles and interests of the Republic with sufficient clearness, or espouses them with sufficient zeal, to lead him to perform an act of heroism in their defense. This doubtless will not always be the case.

The security is not that laws as currently made and administered afford more than a doubtful and tardy and often a wholly ineffective check to current malfeasance, betrayal of trust and usurpation.*

The security is that no malfeasant functionary, or millionairing aspirant after financial nobility in the Republic, desires to put a stop to the movement of the republican machinery. Both desire the present Transitional Republic to continue. They only seek to acquire all the elevation and immunity that is attainable within it; and to place themselves and theirs on the vantage-ground which vast accumulated wealth will offer to its possessor if the republic should give out, and something else turn up in its place—an event which they seem to regard as possible, and not altogether improbable or wholly undesirable.

The question now is, in view of the above depicted

* "The amount of stolen money which might have been recovered for the treasury of this county from Tweed, Connolly, Ingersol and their fellow plunderers, is variously estimated at from three millions to seven millions of dollars. Can it be recovered still? Much more doubtful than at the time their robberies were first exposed; and if it is finally lost to the people and gained to the robbers, it will be due to the unaccountable hallucination and obstinacy of the corporation counsel and his associates." * * * N. Y. Sun, June 13, 1874.

balance of infirmities, *whence is to come adequate and permanent security that the American Republic will not by and by become the theater of rival assassins?* And although the question is not down on the ordinary programme of discussion and investigation, it may be deemed by some worthy of being assigned a place thereon.

To those who see in the fact that "political corruption appears to become more and more rampant" an evidence that an era of blood-shed is laid up in the future of the Republic, the answer most natural to be given to the above inquiry, would be *perfect and invigorate the legislative and administrative systems.* But how perfect and invigorate what is already in an advanced stage of the process of decay? Society we have concluded is a vegetative growth and not a human contrivance. Where is the surgery, or the healing art, that will excise or cause to slough the gangrened centers of the Republic; and successfully restore healthful vitality? We answer in the Grange! How shall the diseased organs of the Republic cure or regenerate themselves? We answer this cannot be.

One of the periodical writers above noted says, "send new men to the Legislature." This advice is not new. Neither has it been neglected. New men by being absorbed into the diseased organism of the

rotten state are infallibly assimilated to the dying mass. (See Appendix F.)

A NEW ORGANISM MUST BE CREATED PURE. This new organism must make political purity its effectual aim. It must of necessity be in the voluntary sphere. Not elsewhere will it be at liberty to purge itself. It must of necessity eschew dictation, for causes before presented; it will otherwise be a source of disease in the Republic. When constituted, this new pure organization in the voluntary sphere of politics, effectively aiming to maintain its own healthfulness, and non-monarchically acting, will be the Grange. It will have a treble action to purify and revivify the current turgid and putrescent condition of the civil organism. First, by direct designing action on the organic state. Refusing to vote for candidates that have nothing but party zeal, and party connections, and party services, and a thirst for plunder, and monarchical aspirations to recommend them.

Second, by holding executive and legislative officials, even during their official terms, still in vital and responsible union to a pure organic body, thereby strongly holding them back from corruption, and excising them if they fall. Third, by actively perfecting in each of its members that personally non-monarchical character that includes non-disseverment,

a quality that negates nearly all the forces that now act to corrupt the State. Without disseverment, there is no class distinction for a weak-kneed official to sell his soul and purchase, no aristocracy for him to bow down and worship, no personal aggrandizement for him to stab his neighbor or the State that he may attain at the cost of others. And without these, the present corrupting forces that act upon the State would be perhaps entirely wanting.

It is dull business to be calling on a dead body to resurrect itself, or on a sick organism to heal itself, especially so in the realm of science. But where partial death or gangrene exists in a body physical or social, nature and science point us to sloughing as the first and indispensable step in the process of recovery. And what is sloughing? It is a definite and final divorce, separation, parting of company, between the living and the dead material. And this is precisely what we propose to initiate and follow up in the Grange, as it acts on the hopelessly corrupt arena of American politics—acts on the body politic, the civil state.

In the process of the natural slough some particles, which had already begun to participate in the paralysis of death which precedes the putrescent state are probably revived, and made healthfully and perfectly

alive. But the salvation of these border particles (individual men they are in the slough of society) is not the grand aim of the process, or of the forces that carry the process forward. The salvation of these few tainted individuals, if they are saved, is incidental. The grand aim and purpose in instituting and carrying on the slough is to save the diseased and partially gangrenous organism. And if some of the partially or entirely living particles were needfully sacrificed (they really are not—it is not surgery that we propose, but only nature's healing process), this should by no means estop the sloughing needful to save the precious life of the organism. The chief action of the slough is, to cause the accretions of new material to cease from being added to the dead instead of to the vital and healthful portion of the whole. And so as this object is achieved, all other results of separation—all accomplishing of more immediate, more rapid, or more visible aims can contentedly be foregone; and the final issue of the process waited for. That final issue will be restoration of health and entire vitality, to the imperiled organism, physical or social.*

* The fundamental issue in English politics is constant and vital; and will remain so until either the despotic or the democratic element in the British system shall have expelled its antagonist. Till that distant epoch arrives there can be with the English politician none of those cessations of practical issues which leave the permanent party organization with nothing to do but to fatten for its own sake a parasite, sucking substance out of the civil state.

It is the transientness of practical issues in American politics that renders perma-

We have thus far presented the reader, more or less completely, with the nature, action and necessity of a typically non-monarchical organization in the arena of politics and in the sphere of voluntary action. For want of a more descriptive appellation we have called this organization "The Grange." It still remains to be described in one of its important properties. It would have been more definitely designated by the term "Political Grange." It is entirely non-exclusive of other granges co-existing with it in other spheres of associate action. The Farmers' Protective Union may remain as it is, and intact, while its members, with the exception of some politically unworthy individuals, unite with the mechanics, merchants, and professionals of their several neighborhoods to form the Political Grange, as we have described—a permanent, non-partizan political organization, for the protecting of the public welfare—as the protestant church has always hitherto co-existed with the political party in the

nent party organizations insufferable, and leaves those organizations for four-fifths of the time without anything to do but to compete with each other in fraud, in audacity, and in the inventing of novel methods of converting the public resources to personal or party use.

The antagonisms of the dual parties are what inthuse the individual to the pitch of blindness, when the real outsider who cares not a straw for the peculiar aims or principles of either party, and would as soon be in the one as the other were he personally as well off in each, has nothing to do but by a few bland professions to attract to himself a blind confidence and then convert the party activities to his own use.

American Republic, without interference or conflict, although each is made up to a greater or less extent of the members of the other. It is characteristic of the individual mind, as that mind approaches the period of Racial maturity; first, that it becomes master of social organization, so as to be able to organize, or to dissolve organic relations in society, voluntarily, and in obedience to the newly acquired knowledge of its wants; second, that it can organize and act simultaneously in two or more co-existing organic bodies in different spheres of social life. It was the absence of this versatile capability that, up to the present epoch, necessitated the organic dependence or oneness of church and state.

When the Farmers' Grange and the co-existing Political Grange shall have adequately illustrated the principles and forms of voluntary non-monarchical organization in spheres subordinate to the sphere of supreme civil government, a Commercial and a Financial Grange will doubtless appear; and, under the pressure of sharp necessity, and at the earliest practicable moment, a Railroad Grange, in which these instruments of travel and transportation will be owned and operated by those who have most occasion to make use of them, and without any conflict of dissevered interests. This will be (and at no distant day), when our aspirants after

that high grade elevation which is impossible to the republic, shall have ceased from the strenuousness of their efforts to elevate themselves at the expense of their neighbors. The wisest man there is among those whose energies and hopes have been embarked in railroad enterprises, will be the first to possess himself of a farm, and join the patrons of husbandry, and sell out a portion of his railroad stock on accommodating terms to his fellow grangers, and make those grangers owners of the railroad stock (though it be in a small way at first), responsible actors in the management of his roads.

The mail that brings from the printer the proof-sheets of this chapter brings from the *Louisville Courier-Journal* the following graphic and irrepressible outburst of a sentiment, a desire, a purpose with which the better-minded portion of the American People throughout the Republic appear at the present hour to be charged to repletion:

THE PARTY THAT IS TO BE.

"The day will come when there will be a determined cry for reform; for the reform of the civil service and the revenue; for a return to sound constitutional precedents along with a sound currency; for a National party, which is afraid neither of its own shadow, nor of Pennsylvania, nor of New York, nor of New England; not a Western party, nor a Farmers' party, but

a party of brains and faith, a genuine Democratic party."

The intended meaning of the passages is unmistakable, while its expression is lame and solecistic. The language has not yet been created in which these advanced ideas can be precisely conveyed. The term National party is a solecism. The term National, which in the utter absence of any other word of kindred import, we are ourselves compelled to use to express relation to the whole American People, means exactly the opposite of party, and annuls it when both words are applied to the same object. We have appropriated the term Grange to mean what the *Courier-Journal* means by National party; but it is only by courtesy of the reader that we can be allowed so to do, as we know of no previous precedent. And, looking at the subject in a philological light, this whole volume has been written to substantiate and defend this specific application of the term Grange.

The term Democratic has been so appropriated and used up in dual politics' as to be meaningless to the popular ear when used in any other connection.

Our National Philologists have just closed their annual convention at Hartford, Conn. They are adepts at handling the Philology of the past. Can they render to us any assistance concerning that of the future? Or must it be left for plodders of no special philological training, by prolonged labor, item by item to fabricate what these scientists live to classify?

The phrase "sound constitutional precedents," ap-

pears lame when we reflect that the whole secession war was fought and won on extra-constitutional ground — that on extra-constitutional ground slavery was abolished and reconstruction achieved — and when we feel (and are convinced that others feel) welling up within the conviction that the constitution of the United States, with all its amendments, has not grown as fast as have grown the governmental exigencies of this reunification of the human race, this spontaneous congregating of the nations that are gathering under it.

APPENDIX.

A.

[See pages 107 and 186.]

It would require a volume of this size to be compiled about once a week the year round, to contain the historic facts which come to us in current periodical literature confirming the positions herein before presented. This volume will hardly have answered its aim if it does not set the more intelligent of its readers to collating and classifying these facts each for himself. It is nothing less or more than the unanswerable logic of events that must settle the questions herein raised. The following cursory, but condensed and yet lucid exhibit of the position to which non-monarchical organization and the quality of non-disseverability have already advanced in subordinate institutions in the voluntary sphere, comes to us as we are correcting for the press, and we insert entire a paper from Rev. E. P. Powell, in the (Chicago) Advance of May 28, 1874.

THE NEW FACTOR IN BUSINESS.

The only test of a theory is practice; and co-operation has not hesitated to accept the test. It has not only entered as an independent idea, organizing asso-

ciations on a new basis; but it has become a leavening force, modifying older forms of industry and traffic.

The "Co-operative Almanac for 1874" furnishes us a list of no less than 875 co-operative associations in England, 96 in Scotland, 32 in Wales and 7 in Ireland. This brought the list only up to 1873. The Wholesale Society of Manchester has 114,588 members. Three other societies have over 6,000 members; one over 5,000; one over 4,000; five over 3,000; sixteen over 2,000; and thirty-five show an enrollment of over 1,000 each.

I have also before me the report of the last annual session of the congress of English societies. It is full of facts, going to show that there is scarcely a branch of industry that is not affected by this principle. In Germany, the People's Banks seem to be the favorite application of the theory. These already deal in millions, and make public loans in competition with ordinary banks. Switzerland gives especial welcome to printers' associations. In Norway there are no less than 200 stores, and a membership of 25,000 in the different societies. Probably the healthiest and best form of co-operation, however, is that which is most popular in France, and is growing quite common in England and America; that is, a union of employer and employee, giving to clerks or apprentices a *pro rata* share of all profits above a certain reasonable reserve for the capitalist—the employer. The working of this plan has been highly satisfactory in France, and has led to no evil results. In England, as in the

case of the well-known Briggs Bros., miners, whose workmen were always irritable, and often hostile, the men have been rendered more industrious, cheerful, economical, ambitious and thoroughly friendly. In Denmark, the report shows that, up to its date, there were 80 stores, and several farming establishments working co-operatively. The chairman of the congress shows that in England, in her best years, the number of beggars, that is, of people absolutely dependent for existence upon parochial aid, is one million. "I know," he says, "that in many a workingman's household the fact that he has been able to get a dividend of £5 or £6 a quarter has made the difference between misery and comfort." It is these small dividends coming from co-operative associations that are saving tens of thousands of laborers from being temporarily added to the list of paupers, and that thus preserve the self respect of the poorer classes. It is shown by experience that nothing so readily teaches economy, and sobriety, and self respect, as the consciousness of having a sum in bank or invested so that the possessor can esteem himself a capitalist, even though in a small way.

The central board reports progress in every direction. There is one largely ramified wholesale society, having at the date of the report 277 branches, and these unitedly a membership of 134,276. Their entire trade for a year was nearly \$6,000,000, the net increase over 1872 being 52 per cent. The Wholesale Society for Scotland reports 31½ per cent increased profits. The

co-operative banks operate through a London bank, and through several provincial banks as agents. The London Bank has 146 branches, a subscribed capital of over \$12,000,000, a reserve fund of nearly \$3,000,000, and pays excellent dividends. All co-operative associations, of any nature whatsoever, can do their business through these banks on much more favorable terms than through ordinary banks. The insurance establishment reports 90 per cent increase in value of policies issued for the six months previous to the report over the preceding six months. The form of co-operation, however, which will most interest American laborers is that which pertains to agriculture. There have been several co-operative farms established in the United Kingdom, all of which are prosperous. The Lincolnshire Society reports a net profit in one year of over \$100,000 from manures alone. The management of these farms is devolved upon a committee of five; four of whom, including the chief manager, must be farm laborers. All employees share in the profits, so that the share does not exceed one-tenth of the profits, nor raise their receipts over one-sixth.

These statistics ought to be supplemented by others, showing the growth of similar associations in the United States. But while statistics to carefully cover the ground are wanting, we know that there is not a single branch of industry in the country which does not feel the effect of this new social element.

The best butter in the New York market, and the best cheese, are already the result of co-operative

industry. There are very few dairymen in the East who now do anything farther than to feed and milk their cows, leaving the factory to work up the marketable article. The result is better quality at less cost of production. One man does the work of ten, and does it at a great advantage. The invention of reapers and mowers, and of labor-saving machinery in general, naturally lead to co-operative farming. One man reaps down the harvest of half a dozen small farms. A common ownership of land is not likely to be largely resorted to in this country so long as land is so cheap, and the pressure of population so light; and yet the colonizing of Texas, California, Colorado and other Western States is done very largely by co-operative companies. A large colony of teachers and men of general culture, horticulturists and others, is now organizing to be established in Southern California, where they propose that the co-operative principle shall affect all their home and industrial and social relations.

Co-operative boarding-houses for clerks and apprentices are especially needed to release young men from the horrors of the "middle passage" between boyhood and wedded life; *i. e.*, the ordinary cheap boarding-house. The union of employer and employees, giving the latter a share of the profits of business, proportioned to each one's industry and skill, has been largely tried, and has invariably worked well when honor and good sense were combined in the proposal. Co-operative stores are springing up in all our larger towns, especially since the rise of the Patrons of Husbandry.

Nor especially must we overlook the application of this principle to tenement houses, or rather tenement villages, by A. T. Stewart, and by a few more of the larger capitalists.

It is not too much to anticipate that the present extremes into which humanity spreads out will be gradually and surely contracted toward a middle ground of comfort and progress, in the place of rioting luxury and squalid poverty; and that co-operation is to furnish the basis for this quiet, peaceable reconstruction of society. Tom Hughes, in his essay on the Laboring Classes, calls especial attention to the fact that the co-operative associations very largely declare their purpose to be to Christianize business; *i. e.*, to carry into traffic the ideas of fraternity and generosity and good will to all. They aver that trade need not be selfish, egotistical and grasping; and that if co-operatively carried on it cannot be.

Money and muscle have never before seen the way clear to a thoroughly friendly union. The co-operative principle seems at last to promise a just, and, therefore, lasting, basis of friendship between the two parties. It enables the poorest laborer to become a capitalist, and to share, in a degree proportioned to his good will and industry, in the benefits accruing from a wise use of money. The workingmen are looking to it for relief from hopeless drudgery, and capitalists welcome it as a probable solution for the vexations that beset the relations of capital and labor. Christians can greet it as an approximation to that ideal Christian household that had all things in common.

APPENDIX B.

[See page 33.]

BROOKLYN RING FRAUDS — THE CONVICTED CHARITY COMMISSIONERS SENTENCED.

Saved from the Penitentiary by the Side Judges—A Fine of Two Hundred Dollars—A Writ of Error Granted—An easy way out of what might have been a Bad Box.

The three convicted Kings county Charity Commissioners were before Judge Daniels yesterday morning for sentence. He said he had devoted considerable time to an examination of this case. In looking over the act of 1874, he had no doubt whatever that it was the design of certain persons to exonerate certain other persons who were guilty of offenses under the act of 1871. But it is the duty of the law to prevent such efforts being carried out. He did not think the law of 1874 should take away from the authorities the power to punish offenders under the law of 1871. Some stand must be taken by which the public interests can be protected against the effects of injudicious legislation.

THE SENTENCE.

A jury has convicted you of a conspiracy. The law you violated had been in operation two years. Your own evidence indicated that there was a substantial understanding between you, which was afterward carried into execution. I do not see how the jury could have arrived at any other conclusion, judging

this case solely on your own evidence. It was your duty to investigate the law and learn what acts were in operation affecting you in the discharge of your duties. This is asking no more of public officials than you would ask of your subordinates. We need more official vigilance. In your violations of this law perhaps you have not overstepped legal bounds with a view to benefit yourselves; you may have desired to benefit your friends. In my own opinion I think some severity should be exhibited in the sentence, but my associates think the offense is one which should be punished by the imposition of a fine. The sentence of the court is that you each pay a fine of \$200, and stand committed until the fine is paid.

A NEW PHASE TO THE BROOKLYN OFFAL WAR.

Mr. Edward Clark, the Brooklyn offal contractor, yesterday sent word to Mayor Hunter, the Board of Health, and the Board of City Works, that he would no longer remove offal under his contract, by which he pays \$800 a year for the privilege. He gives as a reason that the Board of Health, under a new charter amendment, authorizing them to pay \$15,000 for the remainder of the year, is attempting to oust him by working in the interest of Messrs. Swift and Furey, in advertising for proposals for the work without specifications. He says he shall continue the duties of his office to protect the city's health, but if he is deprived of the work he will sue the city for damages. He claims that by a trick an agent of the Board of Health

in Albany inserted a clause in one of the amendments of the charter giving them the power to pay \$15,000 for what the city was paid \$800 a year for. Mr. Clark has rendering works on Barren Island, where he makes \$9.50 from every dead horse, and fifty cents from every dog. He denounces the Board of Health as rotten to the core, and says their action indicates a stupendous job.

MR. BEECHER AND THE OFFICIALS.

WHO SHOULD HAVE GONE TO THE PENITENTIARY WITH WILLIAM M. TWEED.

In expounding the bible injunction to "judge not," yesterday, Mr. Beecher deplored what he called a tendency to indiscriminately criticise public men. His reason for this view was that those in official positions generally represent the average moral status of those who put them there, and if they prove recreant to their trusts, it is mainly the fault of wrong precedent and training. Mr. Beecher said that for twenty-eight years he had watched the drift of politics in New York city, and had seen the system of municipal government utterly subverted. Men were put into office not to serve the public, but to openly further personal interests. At last the evil culminated, and a scapegoat was sent to Blackwell's Island bearing the sins of years of corruption. If entire justice had been done, five hundred thousand people, who had helped Tweed in his crimes, would have been sent to the penitentiary with him. Men are sent to congress by

some rich railroad or other interest, and in the service of their masters they practice bribery and corruption. Finally, a member greater than the others of his kind goes further in crime, is caught and exposed, and shot out to the four corners of the world from the cannon of an investigating committee. He suffered from a system which he was not responsible for, but which was responsible for him. The people had been the alphabet, and he only the word which they had spelled.

SENATORS GETTING EVEN WITH THE NEWSPAPERS.

WASHINGTON, June 16. — Senator Sherman in the Senate to-day managed to have an amendment put on the Post-office Appropriation Bill, requiring publishers of newspapers to prepay postage on their circulation sent through the mail at the rate of four cents per pound. The highest rate the Postmaster-General recommended was a cent and a half per pound. The only explanation for this extraordinary course is the exceeding great anxiety of senators to get even with the newspapers.

Not content to provide yesterday a bill to persecute them in the courts, they now propose to levy an exorbitant tax upon their circulation. They do not provide either that this proposed law shall not take effect until a certain time in the future, but by failing to fix any time, the law will take effect from its passage. Thus, for six months of the present year, the newspapers will have to pay four cents per pound in

the bulk of their mail edition, without any prospect of recovering the same from their subscribers.

MAKING WAR ON THE NEWSPAPERS.

It would appear that there is a ring in the senate determinèd to make a crusade upon the newspapers, and, if possible, to wipe out the metropolitan press. Not satisfied with the national press libel act, which they passed yesterday, and which is intended to facilitate the honorable senators in revenging themselves upon newspaper criticisms, they agreed to-day to increase the postage on newspapers to four cents a pound, prepaid in advance, to take effect on and after the first of July next. This is the pet project of Senator Sherman.—[*From the Press.*]

TURNING THE THUMB SCREW.

A Washington despatch says ex-Gov. Shepherd of that city, appeared before the grand jury Wednesday, to procure the indictment of Dana, editor of the *Sun*. If a presentment can be secured an effort will be made to arrest Dana and bring him to Washington for trial under the law passed by the last Congress, known as the Poland law. The despatch says the authorship of the Poland law is traced to District Attorney Harrington of Washington, who was assisted in drafting it by Shepherd.

Thus the cloven foot of this infamous measure intended to gag the freedom of the American press appears at last. Boss Shepherd, the king of the Wash-

ington band of thieves, having been first exposed in his operations by the New York *Sun*, attempted a year or so ago to wreak his vengeance upon Mr. Dana, the editor of that journal. He conspired to drag Mr. Dana from New York to Washington, before a Washington Police Court, where his influence was supreme, and there punish the audacious editor for daring to expose the robberies in which he was concerned. The base conspiracy was foiled by Judge Blatchford, who decided that a man had a right to trial, and to trial by jury, at the place where the offense was alleged to have been committed. But there was one way left to reach him, and that was, to pass a law specially to cover the case! Congress proved subservient enough to do its part, and of course President Grant, the particular friend of thieves, was not behind hand. A law was driven through Congress by a party vote, providing that in suits for libel the defendants may be dragged from the furthest corner of the Union to the national capital to answer the charges brought against them. If any thing were wanting to make clear the infamy of this law, both in its effect and intent, the first fruits which we record to-day will put the matter beyond question. If Congress and the President think that they have effectually gagged the free press of the country, so that nothing will be said of future Credit Mobiliers, Sanborn contracts, Jayne moieties, salary steals, District thieves, and Republican jobbery and corruption in general, they are mightily mistaken. Gag laws and Washington dungeons have no terrors great enough for this.—*Syracuse Daily Courier*.

GETTING THEIR PAY.

The assiduous cultivation of Gen. Grant by the brothers Hoar is beginning to bear fruit. Under date of June 13, Mr. G. F. Hoar wired to a friend in Worcester winged words, as follows: "Telegraph Moulton instantly that President Grant's order is peremptory that he be restored as weigher. Let him accept no inferior position. This dispatch may be shown to Simmons, or anybody." To quote the remark of a distinguished senator, isn't Gen. Grant inclined to be rather too "ordering" in the family?—*From the Springfield Republican.*

APPENDIX C.

[See page 147.]

The following table, taken from the London Times, shows the general increase in the military forces of the principal European states during the last fifteen years :

	Total army.	Army avail- able for of- fensive pur- poses.
Austria, 1859	634,000	443,000
Austria, 1874	856,980	452,450
Increase	222,980	8,650
European Russia and Caucasus, 1859	1,134,200	604,100
European Russia and Caucasus, 1874	1,401,510	665,810
Increase	267,310	61,710
Asiatic Russia, 1859	89,950	75,650
Asiatic Russia, 1874	118,300	87,550
Increase	28,350	11,900
Italy, 1859	317,650	156,450
Italy, 1874	605,000	322,000
Increase	287,550	165,550
Germany, 1859	836,800	483,700
Germany, 1874	1,261,160	710,130
Increase	424,360	266,430
France and Algeria, 1859	640,500	438,000
France and Algeria, 1874	977,600	525,700
Increase	337,100	87,700
Belgium, 1859	80,250	53,800
Belgium, 1874	93,590	59,140
Increase	13,340	5,340
Holland, 1859	58,550	42,200
Holland, 1874	64,320	32,430
Increase	5,770
Decrease	9,770
Great Britain, 1859	245,800	77,300
Great Britain, 1874	478,820	71,860
Increase	233,020
Decrease	5,440
Denmark, 1859	57,550	38,450
Denmark, 1874	48,700	30,500
Decrease	8,850	7,950
Sweden and Norway, 1859	134,900	46,300
Sweden and Norway, 1874	204,510	54,910
Increase	69,610	8,610

APPENDIX D.

[See page 156.]

Rev. H. N. Burton, before the Ohio Conference of Congregational Churches, 1874, while innocent of any philosophical conception of the Race-wide social transition in which he and his ecclesiastical associates occupy an extremely advanced position, gives utterance to some historical facts which are of the very highest interest.

The fact of an absolutely sectless church being possible, being necessary, or being now in existence in the arena of organic society, does not appear to have entered his mind, or the mind of any other ecclesiastic. Yet the drift in that direction is strong, effective, and unmistakable, and probably no one has ever descried and delineated this drift more palpably than Mr. Burton. Making the necessary allowance for his speaking in the current dialect of religion instead of using the vocabulary of science; he says:

The resolution contemplates mutual concessions, mutual disbandings, sometimes to go to one and at other times to another denomination. We are to receive as well as to give. Good men are to determine which should disband.

Some may think the resolution is impracticable, apprehending that other denominations are not ready to reciprocate such overtures on our part. They are ready. They have already proposed the matter. Their secretaries are already in correspondence with ours to know if there cannot be a concert of action in establishing,

consolidating and maintaining these mission churches. Their ecclesiastical bodies have passed encouraging resolutions on this subject. Huron Presbytery did it unanimously only the other day, and resolved to see what can be done in this direction. Many of our State and local conferences are doing the same. God's spirit (Racial development, science calls it), is moving to great unanimity in this matter. The conviction is growing that the evil of so many little, feeble, distracted churches ought to be abated, and that, if man will not abate them, God will, by simply letting them alone. The impression, then, is unfounded that other denominations are not ready for this work of union. They are as ready for it as we are, and may God forbid that we, who boast of a faith and a polity the least sectarian of all, should be behind hand with them in moving upon a policy whose aim is the more speedy realization of Christ's prayer, the sublime acme of all his desires in the very face of crucifixion: "That they all may be one; as thou art, Father art in me and I in thee; that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe thou hast sent me."

The action proposed is not only practicable; it is eminently desirable. There are few things which men of the world more often throw out against our benign religion, and few things which have greater force with them and more effectually alienate them from us than sectarianism. To their eyes it is the one foul stain upon our escutcheons. Remove this, and you remove half their prejudice against christianity at once.

When they see half a dozen churches in their little village, no one of them ever half filled or half supported, and a great tax upon the community at that, they ask, "Why are these divisions?" and go on to reason thus: "If they are divided on essential points, then they are poor guides to me as to what to believe, and if I joined this one or that, I could never know whether I am the more likely to be saved or damned for the step; but if they are divided on non-essentials then they are a curse to the community, fomenting such strifes as they do, and I will have nothing to do with them." Thus, in either case and always they are repelled. But when they see these divisions all swept away, and christians uniting in one strong church and working unanimously together, they begin to see and feel what they never saw and felt before, that the Gospel of Christ is a gospel of peace, of love, and of union of salvation to society. And I verily believe that if the feeble churches in any of our towns would but throw up their separate organizations and unite in one spirit, in one true and loving church, God would give them and us such demonstration of his approval as would never leave us in doubt of what his blessed will is in this matter.

Under such an arrangement the efficiency of God's people would be increased manifold. Not only would the stigma of sectarianism, and the consequent alienation of men from the church, be wiped out, but as a consequence the church would at once assume a position of respectability and influence she never had before in the community. She could stand alone. She would

cease to be a burden and a beggar. Embodying all the friends of Christ in the place, they would work shoulder to shoulder in Sunday school work, in mission work, in temperance work. They would present an unbroken front to the foe. Union is strength in every other relation and business in life. Why not, then, in the church? Division is disaster everywhere else. It is in the church. We are weak and inefficient because of it. We should deprecate and shun it. Why, look at the vast resources of men and of means that are squandered in maintaining these fruitless divisions of our forces. I am speaking within bounds when I say that if our feeble churches in this State were united, as they ought to be, that very day a hundred good men, and true, now ministering to those churches, would be released to labor elsewhere; to be sent to the front, where they are so greatly needed; and all that is now paid to support them in this struggle for life, where they now are, could be made over to support them in those larger and more promising fields of effort. Thus these very churches and towns that are now knocking at the doors of every missionary society in the land, begging a pitiful morsel of charity to keep the breath of life in them, would become not only independent but efficient and delighted contributors to victories to be won in the regions beyond. We should no longer be compelled to come up to this Conference to devise measures and plead for means to carry on home mission work within our State; for we should have no such work; our churches would all be self-supporting, and our appeals to them would

be to unite in one grand army of advance to bear the standard of the cross to the distant corners of our land, yea, across the seas and continents to the remotest boundaries of the earth. And look for a moment at the effect the union contemplated in our resolution would have upon the pastors of these feeble churches. These good men, capable of earning a competent living in any other business in life, are cramped and scrimped at every turn in their support as pastors. They and their wives and families hardly know how to make the ends meet. They are made to feel that they are a burden to the community, and that they are regarded by the people as objects of charity who must be supported, though it be by the hardest. Now what must be the effect of all this upon their spirits? It is all wrong. Christ would have his servants feel that they are free from all men, that the laborer is worthy of his hire, that his support is sure. Especially would he have so noble and self-sacrificing men as our home missionaries are, free to lay themselves out fully for him, wholly divested of that wearing solicitude as to what we shall eat and drink and wear.

Doubtless most of our feeble churches would do better by their pastor if they could. They know his salary is meager. They grieve over it. They feel that his powers are cramped and his usefulness hindered by the fact. But what can they do? The church is small. The congregation is small. The community is small. There are two, three or four other little churches, side by side, struggling in the same way for existence

Why, the other day, I passed through a little village where we have a little church that applied last year for \$250 aid, and side by side with it there are five other little churches, every one of which have undertaken the ungracious task of starving a minister of Jesus Christ to death, and they would very soon succeed were it not for the missionary societies.

And then this resolution falls in with the growing spirit of fellowship which God is happily inspiring within the different branches of Zion in our day. He is showing Christians that they are all one in the Lord, that they can commune together; that they can work together. We see this in union prayer-meetings, in union revival efforts, in union periodicals devoted to the noble advocacy of church union, in union Sunday schools, in the great national and international Sunday school organizations which sends us all and all our children to the same portion of God's Word from Sabbath to Sabbath, and last of all, in the great union temperance movement which has been rolling a mighty river through our land, bearing purity and blessing everywhere on its bosom.

Let us then have union, so far as possible. Let us make overtures of it to our brethren of different names. Theirs, not ours, be the responsibility of running counter to the plain indications of God's providence. Theirs, not ours, be the unchristian enormity of evincing a narrow and bigoted spirit that outlaws all who cannot utter some sectarian shibboleth, a stench in the nostrils at once of men and of the Almighty.

APPENDIX E.

[See page 159.]

THE METHODS OF BRIBERY.

There are a great many people who find it difficult to believe that legislators are so venal or the crime of bribery so common as the newspapers seem to represent. They prefer to believe that newspaper publishers and correspondents have grudges to gratify, or are actuated by malice and meanness, rather than credit the intimation that men chosen by the people for the functions of legislation can deliberately betray their constituents and sell their votes. This notwithstanding the fact that the nearer you get to a legislature the louder, more pronounced, and more specific are the charges of corruption, and that around the average state house the prices of venal members are matters of common talk, things being said openly that the newspapers from a sense of the shame involved in them would refuse to give place to. The reason for this incredulousness we presume to be the unfamiliarity of most people with the methods by which corrupt men accomplish corrupt purposes, the subtleties of approach, the ingenious devices, sophistries and evasions, and the processes of casuistry by which conscience is strangled and the palm allowed to be corruptly crossed. It is impossible for the steady-going, sober-minded citizen of the rural districts to conceive that his neighbor whom he has selected by his vote to represent him in the legislature has become at once corrupt and a bribe-taker upon getting into the atmos-

phere of the state house. They will credit no such slander. What makes the bad atmosphere of the capitol is the disposition to abuse public officers and the depraved taste for coarse, low scandals; legislators are, they say, for the most part honest and upright, and only they who libel them are false and unworthy.

Well, there might be some force in this line of thought were there only one method of approach. Were bribery only possible by abruptly asking men their price and paying it down in open market, it is safe to say there would be but little of it anywhere. Unhappily there are a thousand approaches to the venal and selfish side of men, and it not infrequently happens that under some of the subtlest forms of temptation the palm closes over the price and the bribe is appropriated before the victim realizes that he is in market. Cash in hand is the coarsest, crudest and most vulgar method of all; your practiced operator in the lobby never uses it. The cunningest of vote-manipulators and lobby agents begins his work back of the legislature, and even of the primary meeting; he works up the preliminaries, secures the nomination for his victim, and contributes handsomely to his election. Ordinarily the legislator so chosen is bribed and bought before he takes his seat, and before he has the remotest intimation of what his purchasers expect to do with him. There are very few men, in the present condition of politics, who, having been assisted in this manner by the active politician and lobbyist, can look their creators in the face when the pinch comes and

give a decided "No." We say in the present condition of politics, not because politicians are any worse now than ever before, but because there are more of them, and more temptations to corrupt and venal legislation. The paying down of so much money for a vote is too gross a form of temptation, unworthy the ingenuity of the tempter, the position of the tempted, and the spirit of the age. To contribute money to defray the election expenses of the person whose assistance you shall need by and by, is a much more refined and gracefully winding approach, and it amounts to the same thing in the end. There was once a case of this kind in Iowa. No State is without its instances and illustrations. If ever the truth were known, hundreds of post-offices and collectorships have been sold in the past ten or twelve years by members of congress who had incurred large expenses in securing their own election, and reimbursed themselves by contributions from office-seekers, which were named subscriptions for election expenses.

The indirections of the *Credit Mobilier* bribery are too freshly remembered to require any analysis. Whatever may be said of the purity of motive and honesty of purpose of the holders of the stock placed "where it would do most good," the practical honesty and good sense of the people did not hesitate to pronounce the whole transaction corrupt, and carried on in the spirit and with the unmistakable purpose of bribery. That ingenious scheme had, in addition to its original subtlety, another element of strength in the

fact that the honest men who were approached with the temptation, but saw through it and repelled it, were hindered from denouncing it by the fact that so many men of good reputation and honorable standing were concerned in it, and they did not want to seem pharisaical in condemning what others saw no harm in. Legislatures and congress are full too of that most indirect and untraceable form of bribery which is carried on in the process of "swapping votes." Millions of dollars have been voted away in appropriations which would never have been made except as the abettors of a great number of them combined to carry them through. A member of congress desires to have a public building or a "system of derricks"—which is the starting-point of appropriations—in his district; another wants an appropriation for a harbor or a river in his district; another a navy-yard and so on; not one of these schemes would go through on its merits, but each bribes the other. The votes are "swapped," and the whole batch goes through. What for? Simply that the member of congress may strengthen himself in his district, and by the distribution of public money secure a re-election. It is only another form of raising "election expenses."

But it may be asked, if bribery is so common why is it not more often exposed specifically instead of being treated at arms length and in such roundabout fashion? The answer is that what with the ingenious devices of the lobby and the expedients by which it is either entirely concealed or made so general that it

is almost impossible to bring it to book, the whole business is beyond the reach of remedial legislation, and almost of individual penalties. Take an instance that happened not long since in a New England capital, when a coarse-grained, low-bred, lobbying politician approached a leading member of the legislature, who was a lawyer by profession, with an offer of a retainer to make an argument in a special case before the legislature. Naturally enough the gentleman so approached was shocked, disgusted, enraged. But what could he do? Knock down the creature? That would only create scandal. Bring it to the attention of the Assembly? That would be worse, since it would involve his own name in the disgrace of being approached with corrupt purpose. His position was like that of an honest woman insulted by infamous proposals; to make any disturbance about it would be infinitely more annoying than to pass it in silence; and so, after taking advice of discreet friends, he allowed the matter to drop, after giving the scamp a very vigorous piece of his mind. And yet for one such case as this which was open and flagrant, there are a thousand where the legislators who are tempted, though they understand that corruption is proposed and intended, are unable to define the temptation so precisely as to get angry at it, much less to find any sufficient ground for public action. This is the profession, the business of lobbies. Where these sneaking creatures haunt the capitol, be sure there is always bribery going on in some of its thousand forms. There may be too general a dispo-

sition on the part of the press to censure indiscriminately public men, but no thoughtful person can consider the diverse and various methods, subtle, indirect, persuasive, and oftentimes unsuspected, by which the harpies of the lobby influence legislation and buy and sell votes, without recognizing one of the most imminent dangers to our institutions, and admitting that the press of the country is doing only its duty in making hot and constant warfare upon the system and its promoters. — *N. Y. Tribune.*

"The Credit Mobilier was, by common consent, the most stupendous fraud ever perpetrated in America. It had for its object the swindling of the United States out of about fifty millions of dollars. It was a comprehensive scheme, well laid and fully executed by leading members of the party. When it was resolved to buy the American Congress, these eminent and trusted republicans selected a distinguished member from New England to place the shares where they would do the most good — in the pockets of the most powerful senators and representatives. The conspiracy became absolutely irresistible. The bribed congressmen voted away the property of the United States, and the bribed directors of the railroad passed it on to the bribers, through the whole band of associated thieves, in the form of dividends. The business went on for years, until the robbers fell out among themselves."

"Has the republican party done any thing to punish —? On the contrary, they have given him high place and great power, that the evil qualities which have rendered him notorious might be exercised with unrestrained license. He is the foremost representative of the party of addition, division, and silence, the accomplice of —, —, and —, the patrons of the ruffians who stuff ballot boxes and manipulate returns. He began his public life by cheating savages, and is about to end it with the spectacle of the second Commonwealth in the Union debauched from center to circumference, and literally perishing in the clutches of powerful and rapacious criminals whom he has set to govern her. He is believed to have bought every one of his elections to the Senate, and to have been the prime agent in corrupting and debasing the — legislature until the very name has become a hissing reproach the world over. He has communicated to every politician that ever fell under his influence a deadly taint, and it was only the other day that we read the mournful obituary of one of the blighted wretches who sold him his vote as an assemblyman in 1856. He got into —'s cabinet through a scandalous sale of his influence at —, and was hustled out after a year's trial with a frightful Congressional censure pinned to his back. Did he feel himself punished, or was he cowed? Not at all. He went to — and bought a seat in the senate, and stands there to-day courted, flourishing, insolent, unabashed! — *Morning Paper.*

Of the foregoing extracts not specifically attributed to any authority, several are from the *New York Sun*. Of this journal, being a total stranger to its managers, we have three remarks to make. First. It has some spots on it, as does the orb of day. Second. Its pure, dense English is fast making it indispensable to those who read or write with a decidedly higher aim than to patronize paper mills. Third. Ever since Jack Downing, in a quaint way, told the secrets of President Jackson's Kitchen Cabinet, the most palpable and crying want of the American Republic has been a journal possessed of the daring and the devotion, first to ascertain the facts, and then to inform the people, what their pretended rulers, legislative and executive, were in reality busying themselves about. This want the *Sun* has done some notable and historic service in supplying. We disparage no other paper. We think the *Sun* dwells with needless persistency in the region of personal praise or blame; but whether the type of journal which the *Sun* now represents is to become perfected, matured and perpetual, is a question which all mankind are interested to have answered affirmatively on every page of future history.



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